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Marcus Tullius

CICERO'S ORATIONS.

PRO LEGE MANILIA

SEU

DE POMPEIO IMPERATORE DELIGENDO AD POPULUM ORATIO;

ET

PRO A. LICINIO ARCHIA POETA ORATIO.

WITH SHORT ENGLISH NOTES,

FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS.

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M. TULLII CICERONIS

PRO

LEGE MANILIA

SEU

DE POMPEIO IMPERATORE DELIGENDO

AD POPULUM ORATIO.

NOTITIA LITTERARIA.

M. (aut M'.) Æmilio Lepido, L. Volcatio Tullo coss. (688 P.U.C.) *quum L. Lucullus, qui proconsulari imperio administrarat prope septem annos Mithridaticum bellum, a senatu revocatus Romam redisset, C. Manilius tribunus plebis legem tulit ad populum, ut Pompeio, qui tum bellum maritimum gerebat, soli totius belli administratio committeretur. Cicero autem tunc prætor creatus hanc orationem suasoriam ad populum habuit, contradicentibus Hortensio et Catulo. Horum alter non esse uni omnia committenda dixerat, alter vero in uno homine sæpe esse periclitandam fortunam negaverat, majoribus eum reipublicæ temporibus servandum esse existimans.*

ARG. Cicero primo bellum ipso genere necessarium et ideo gerendum esse docet, ne populi Rom. gloria, salus sociorum, vectigalia reipublicæ et civium bona amittantur, §§ 1—19; deinde de instantis belli magnitudine et de Luculli virtutibus explicat, § 26; tum Pompeium imperatorem deligendum esse demonstrat, ut in quo sint omnes virtutes imperatoriæ, scientia rei militaris, temperantia, fides, facilitas, ingenium, humanitas, auctoritas et felicitas, (§ 48). Denique adversariorum objectiones refutat.

1 I. Quamquam mihi semper frequens conspectus
vester multo jucundissimus, hic autem locus ad
agendum amplissimus, ad dicendum ornatissimus est
visus, Quirites, tamen hoc aditu laudis, qui semper
optimo cuique maxime patuit, non mea me voluntas,
sed meæ vitæ rationes ab ineunte ætate susceptæ
prohibuerunt. Nam quum antea per ætatem non-
dum hujus auctoritatem loci attingere auderem, sta-
tueremque nihil huc, nisi perfectum ingenio elabo-
ratum industria, afferri oportere, omne meum tempus
2 amicorum temporibus transmittendum putavi. Ita
neque hic locus vacuus umquam fuit ab iis, qui ves-
tram causam defenderent, et meus labor, in priva-
torum periculis caste integreque versatus, ex vestro
judicio fructum est amplissimum consecutus. Nam
quum, propter dilationem comitiorum, ter prætor
primus centuriis cunctis renuntiatus sum, facile in-
tellexi, Quirites, et quid de me judicaretis, et quid
aliis præscriberetis. Nunc quum et auctoritatis in
me tantum sit, quantum vos honoribus mandandis
esse voluistis, et ad agendum facultatis tantum, quan-
tum homini vigilanti ex forensi usu prope quotidiana
dicendi exercitatio potuit afferre, certe et, si quid auc-
toritatis in me est, ea apud eos utar, qui eam mihi
dederunt, et si quid etiam dicendo consequi possum,
iis ostendam potissimum, qui ei quoque rei fructum
3 suo judicio tribuendum esse duxerunt. Atque illud
in primis mihi lætandum jure esse video, quod, in
hac insolita mihi ex hoc loco ratione dicendi, causa
talis oblata est, in qua oratio deesse nemini possit.
Dicendum est enim de Cn. Pompeii singulari eximia-
que virtute. Hujus autem orationis difficilius est

exitum, quam principium invenire. Ita mihi non tam copia, quam modus in dicendo quærendus est.

II. Atque ut inde oratio mea proficiscatur, unde 4
hæc omnis causa ducitur: bellum grave et periculosum vestris vectigalibus atque sociis a duobus potentissimis regibus infertur, Mithridate et Tigrane, quorum alter relictus, alter lacessitus, occasionem sibi ad occupandam Asiam oblatam esse arbitrantur. Equitibus Romanis, honestissimis viris, afferuntur ex Asia quotidie litteræ; (quorum magnæ res aguntur, in vestris vectigalibus exercendis occupatæ; qui ad me, pro necessitudine, quæ mihi est cum illo ordine, causam reipublicæ periculaque rerum suarum detulerunt:) Bithyniæ, quæ nunc vestra provincia 5
est, vicos exustos esse complures; regnum Ariobarzanis, quod finitimum est vestris vectigalibus, totum esse in hostium potestate; Lucullum, magnis rebus gestis, ab eo bello discedere; huic qui successerit, non satis esse paratum ad tantum bellum administrandum: unum ab omnibus sociis et civibus ad id bellum imperatorem deposci atque expeti, eumdem hunc unum ab hostibus metui, præterea neminem.

Causa quæ sit, videtis; nunc, quid agendum sit, 6
considerate. Primum mihi videtur de genere belli, deinde de magnitudine, tum de imperatore deligendo esse dicendum. Genus est belli ejusmodi, quod maxime vestros animos excitare atque inflammare ad persequendi studium debeat, in quo agitur populi Romani gloria, quæ vobis a majoribus quum magna in rebus omnibus, tum summa in re militari tradita est, agitur salus sociorum atque amicorum, pro qua multa majores vestri magna et gravia bella

gesserunt, aguntur certissima populi Romani vectigalia et maxima, quibus amissis et pacis ornamenta et subsidia belli requiretis, aguntur bona multorum civium, quibus est a vobis et ipsorum et reipublicæ
7 causa consulendum. III. Et quoniam semper appetentes gloriæ præter ceteras gentes atque avidi laudis fuistis, delenda vobis est illa macula, Mithridatico bello superiore concepta, quæ penitus jam insedit atque inveteravit in populi Romani nomine: quod is, qui uno die, tota Asia, tot in civitatibus, uno nuntio atque una litterarum significatione cives Romanos necandos trucidandosque denotavit, non modo adhuc pœnam nullam suo dignam scelere suscepit, sed ab illo tempore annum jam tertium et vicesimum regnat, et ita regnat, ut se non Ponti neque Cappadociæ latebris occultare velit, sed emergere ex patrio regno atque in vestris vectigalibus, hoc est, in Asiæ
8 luce versari. Etenim adhuc ita vestri cum illo rege contenderunt imperatores, ut ab illo insignia victoriæ, non victoriam reportarent. Triumphavit L. Sulla, triumphavit L. Murena de Mithridate, duo fortissimi viri et summi imperatores: sed ita triumpharunt, ut ille pulsus superatusque regnaret. Verumtamen illis imperatoribus laus est tribuenda, quod egerunt; venia danda, quod reliquerunt: propterea quod ab eo bello Sullam in Italiam respublica, Mu-
9 renam Sulla revocavit. IV. Mithridates autem omne reliquum tempus non ad oblivionem veteris belli, sed ad comparationem novi contulit; qui, posteaquam maximas ædificasset ornassetque classes exercitusque permagnos, quibuscumque ex gentibus potuisset, comparasset, et se Bosporanis, finitimis suis, bellum inferre simularet, usque in Hispaniam legatos

ac litteras misit ad eos duces, quibuscum tum bellum
gerebamus, ut, quum duobus in locis disjunctissimis
maximeque diversis uno consilio a binis hostium
copiis bellum terra marique gereretur, vos ancipiti
contentione districti de imperio dimicaretis. Sed ta- 10
men alterius partis periculum, Sertorianæ atque His-
paniensis, quæ multo plus firmamenti ac roboris ha-
bebat, Cn. Pompeii divino consilio ac singulari vir-
tute depulsum est: in altera parte ita res a L. Lucul-
lo, summo viro, est administrata, ut initia illa rerum
gestarum magna atque præclara non felicitati ejus,
sed virtuti, hæc autem extrema, quæ nuper accide-
runt, non culpæ, sed fortunæ tribuenda esse videan-
tur. Sed de Lucullo dicam alio loco, et ita dicam,
Quirites, ut neque vera laus ei detracta actione nostra,
neque falsa afficta esse videatur. De vestri imperii 11
dignitate atque gloria, quoniam is est exorsus ora-
tionis meæ, videte, quem vobis animum suscipien-
dum putetis. V. Majores vestri sæpe, mercatori-
bus ac naviculariis injuriosius tractatis, bella gesse-
runt: vos, tot civium Romanorum millibus uno nun-
tio atque uno tempore necatis, quo tandem animo
esse debetis? Legati quod erant appellati superbius,
Corinthum patres vestri, totius Græciæ lumen, ex-
stinctum esse voluerunt: vos eum regem inultum esse
patiemini, qui legatum populi Romani consularem
vinculis ac verberibus atque omni supplicio excru-
ciatum necavit? Illi libertatem civium Romanorum
imminutam non tulerunt: vos vitam ereptam negli-
getis? Jus legationis verbo violatum illi persecuti
sunt: vos legatum omni supplicio interfectum re-
linquetis? Videte, ne, ut illis pulcherrimum fuit, 12
tantam vobis imperii gloriam tradere, sic vobis tur-

pissimum sit, illud, quod accepistis, tueri et conservare non posse. Quid? quod salus sociorum summum in periculum ac discrimen vocatur, quo tandem animo ferre debetis? Regno expulsus est Ariobarzanes rex, socius populi Romani atque amicus; imminent duo reges toti Asiæ, non solum vobis inimicissimi, sed etiam vestris sociis atque amicis; civitates autem omnes cuncta Asia atque Græcia vestrum auxilium exspectare propter periculi magnitudinem coguntur; imperatorem a vobis certum deposcere, quum præsertim vos alium miseritis, neque audent, neque id se facere summo sine periculo posse arbi-
13 trantur. Vident et sentiunt hoc idem, quod vos, unum virum esse, in quo summa sint omnia, et eum prope esse, (quo etiam carent ægrius:) cujus adventu ipso atque nomine, tametsi ille ad maritimum bellum venerit, tamen impetus hostium repressos esse intelligunt ac retardatos. Hi vos, quoniam libere loqui non licet, tacite rogant, ut se quoque sicut ceterarum provinciarum socios, dignos existimetis, quorum salutem tali viro commendetis: atque hoc etiam magis, quod ceteros in provinciam ejusmodi homines cum imperio mittimus, ut, etiamsi ab hoste defendant, tamen ipsorum adventus in urbes sociorum non multum ab hostili expugnatione differant. Hunc audiebant antea, nunc præsentem vident tanta temperantia, tanta mansuetudine, tanta humanitate, ut ii beatissimi esse videantur, apud quos ille diu-
14 tissime commoratur. VI. Quare, si propter socios, nulla ipsi injuria lacessiti, majores vestri cum Antiocho, cum Philippo, cum Ætolis, cum Pœnis bella gesserunt, quanto vos studio convenit, injuriis provocatos, sociorum salutem una cum imperii vestri

dignitate defendere, præsertim quum de maximis vestris vectigalibus agatur? Nam ceterarum provinciarum vectigalia, Quirites, tanta sunt, ut iis ad ipsas provincias tutandas vix contenti esse possimus; Asia vero tam opima est ét fertilis, ut et ubertate agrorum et varietate fructuum et magnitudine pastionis et multitudine earum rerum quæ exportantur facile omnibus terris antecellat. Itaque hæc vobis provincia, Quirites, si et belli utilitatem et pacis dignitatem retinere vultis, non modo a calamitate, sed etiam a
metu calamitatis est defendenda. Nam ceteris in 15
rebus, quum venit calamitas, tum detrimentum accipitur: at in vectigalibus non solum adventus mali, sed etiam metus ipse affert calamitatem. Nam quum hostium copiæ non longe absunt, etiamsi irruptio facta nulla sit, tamen pecora relinquuntur, agricultura deseritur, mercatorum navigatio conquiescit. Ita neque ex portu neque ex decumis neque ex scriptura vectigal conservari potest. Quare sæpe totius anni fructus uno rumore periculi atque uno belli terrore
amittitur. Quo tandem animo esse existimatis aut 16
eos, qui vectigalia nobis pensitant, aut eos, qui exercent atque exigunt, quum duo reges cum maximis copiis prope adsint? quum una excursio equitatus perbrevi tempore totius anni vectigal auferre possit? quum publicani familias maximas, quas in salinis habent, quas in agris, quas in portubus atque custodiis, magno periculo se habere arbitrentur? Putatisne vos illis rebus frui posse, nisi eos, qui vobis fructui sunt, conservaveritis non solum (ut antea dixi) calamitate, sed etiam calamitatis formidine libera-
tos? VII. Ac ne illud quidem vobis negligendum est, 17
quod mihi ego extremum proposueram, quum essem

de belli genere dicturus, quod ad multorum bona civium Romanorum pertinet, quorum vobis pro vestra sapientia, Quirites, habenda est ratio diligenter. Nam et publicani, homines et honestissimi et ornatissimi, suas rationes et copias in illam provinciam contulerunt: quorum ipsorum per se res et fortunæ curæ vobis esse debent: etenim si vectigalia nervos esse reipublicæ semper duximus, eum certe ordinem, qui exercet illa, firmamentum ceterorum ordinum recte
18 esse dicemus: deinde ceteris ex ordinibus homines gnavi et industrii partim ipsi in Asia negotiantur, quibus vos absentibus consulere debetis, partim suas et suorum in ea provincia pecunias magnas collocatas habent. Erit igitur humanitatis vestræ, magnum eorum civium numerum calamitate prohibere; sapientiæ, videre multorum civium calamitatem a republica sejunctam esse non posse. Etenim primum illud parvi refert, vos publicanis amissis vectigalia postea victoria recuperare. Neque enim iisdem redimendi facultas erit propter calamitatem, neque
19 aliis voluntas propter timorem. Deinde, quod nos eadem Asia atque idem iste Mithridates initio belli Asiatici docuit, certe id quidem calamitate docti memoria retinere debemus. Nam tum, quum in Asia res magnas permulti amiserant, scimus Romæ, solutione impedita, fidem concidisse. Non enim possunt una in civitate multi rem ac fortunas amittere, ut non plures secum in eamdem calamitatem trahant. A quo periculo prohibete rempublicam, et mihi credite id, quod ipsi videtis: hæc fides atque hæc ratio pecuniarum, quæ Romæ, quæ in foro versatur, implicita est cum illis pecuniis Asiaticis et cohæret. Ruere illa non possunt, ut hæc non eodem labefactata motu

concidant. Quare videte, num dubitandum vobis sit, omni studio ad id bellum incumbere, in quo gloria nominis vestri, salus sociorum, vectigalia maxima, fortunæ plurimorum civium conjunctæ cum republica defendantur.

VIII. Quoniam de genere belli dixi, nunc de mag- 20
nitudine pauca dicam. Potest enim hoc dici: belli
genus esse ita necessarium, ut sit gerendum; non
esse ita magnum, ut sit pertimescendum. In quo
maxime laborandum est, ne forte ea vobis, quæ di-
ligentissime providenda sunt, contemnenda esse vi-
deantur. Atque, ut omnes intelligant, me L. Lucullo
tantum impertire laudis, quantum forti viro et sa-
pientissimo homini et magno imperatori debeatur:
dico, ejus adventu maximas Mithridatis copias omni-
bus rebus ornatas atque instructas fuisse urbemque
Asiæ clarissimam nobisque amicissimam Cyziceno-
rum obsessam esse ab ipso rege maxima multitudine
et oppugnatam vehementissime, quam L. Lucullus
virtute, assiduitate, consilio summis obsidionis peri-
culis liberavit: ab eodem imperatore classem mag- 21
nam et ornatam, quæ ducibus Sertorianis ad Italiam
studio inflammato raperetur, superatam esse atque
depressam: magnas hostium præterea copias multis
præliis esse deletas, patefactumque nostris legioni-
bus esse Pontum, qui ante populo Romano ex omni
aditu clausus fuisset: Sinopen atque Amisum, qui-
bus in oppidis erant domicilia regis omnibus rebus
ornata atque referta, ceterasque urbes Ponti et Cap-
padociæ permultas uno aditu atque adventu esse
captas: regem, spoliatum regno patrio atque avito,
ad alios se reges atque ad alias gentes supplicem con-
tulisse: atque hæc omnia, salvis populi Romani so-

ciis atque integris vectigalibus, esse gesta. Satis opinor hoc esse laudis, atque ita, Quirites, ut hoc vos intelligatis, a nullo istorum, qui huic obtrectant legi atque causæ, L. Lucullum similiter ex hoc loco esse
22 laudatum. IX. Requiretur fortasse nunc, quemadmodum, quum hæc ita sint, reliquum possit magnum esse bellum. Cognoscite, Quirites. Non enim hoc sine causa quæri videtur. Primum ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur; quam prædicant in fuga fratris sui membra in iis locis, qua se parens persequeretur, dissipavisse, ut eorum collectio dispersa mærorque patrius celeritatem persequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens, maximam vim auri atque argenti pulcherrimarumque rerum omnium, quas et a majoribus acceperat, et ipse bello superiore ex tota Asia direptas in suum regnum congesserat, in Ponto omnem reliquit. Hæc dum nostri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipse e manibus effugit. Ita illum in persequendi studio mæror, hos lætitia re-
23 tardavit. Hunc in illo timore et fuga Tigranes, rex Armenius, excepit, diffidentemque rebus suis confirmavit, et afflictum erexit, perditumque recreavit. Cujus in regnum posteaquam L. Lucullus cum exercitu venit, plures etiam gentes contra imperatorem nostrum concitatæ sunt. Erat enim metus injectus iis nationibus, quas numquam populus Romanus neque lacessendas bello, neque tentandas putavit. Erat etiam alia gravis atque vehemens opinio, quæ animos gentium barbararum pervaserat, fani locupletissimi et religiosissimi diripiendi causa in eas oras nostrum exercitum esse adductum. Ita nationes multæ atque magnæ novo quodam terrore ac

metu concitabantur. Noster autem exercitus, etsi
urbem ex Tigranis regno ceperat, et præliis usus erat
secundis, tamen nimia longinquitate locorum ac de-
siderio suorum commovebatur. Hic jam plura non 24
dicam. Fuit enim illud extremum, ut ex iis lo-
cis a militibus nostris reditus magis maturus, quam
processio longior quæreretur. Mithridates autem et
suam manum jam confirmarat, et eorum, qui se ex
ejus regno collegerant, et magnis adventitiis multo-
rum regum et nationum copiis juvabatur. Hoc jam
fere sic fieri solere accepimus, ut regum afflictæ for-
tunæ facile multorum opes alliciant ad misericor-
diam, maximeque eorum, qui aut reges sunt, aut vi-
vunt in regno, quod regale iis nómen magnum et
sanctum esse videatur. Itaque tantum victus effi- 25
cere potuit, quantum incolumis numquam est ausus
optare. Nam quum se in regnum recepisset suum,
non fuit eo contentus, quod ei præter spem acci-
derat, ut illam, posteaquam pulsus erat, terram um-
quam attingeret, sed in exercitum vestrum, clarum
atque victorem, impetum fecit. Sinite hoc loco, Qui-
rites, (sicut poetæ solent, qui res Romanas scribunt,)
præterire me nostram calamitatem, quæ tanta fuit,
ut eam ad aures L. Luculli non ex prælio nuntius,
sed ex sermone rumor afferret. Hic in ipso illo 26
malo gravissimaque belli offensione L. Lucullus, qui
tamen aliqua ex parte iis incommodis mederi for-
tasse potuisset, vestro jussu coactus, quod imperii
diuturnitati modum statuendum vetere exemplo pu-
tavistis, partem militum, qui jam stipendiis confec-
tis erant, dimisit, partem Glabrioni tradidit. Multa
prætereo consulto. sed ea vos conjectura perspicite,
quantum illud bellum factum putetis, quod conjun

gant reges potentissimi, renovent agitatæ nationes, suscipiant integræ gentes, novus imperator vester ac-
27 cipiat, vetere pulso exercitu! X. Satis mihi multa verba fecisse videor, quare hoc bellum esset genere ipso necessarium, magnitudine periculosum: restat, ut de imperatore ad id bellum deligendo ac tantis rebus præficiendo dicendum esse videatur.

Utinam, Quirites, virorum fortium atque innocentium copiam tantam haberetis, ut hæc vobis deliberatio difficilis esset, quemnam potissimum tantis rebus ac tanto bello præficiendum putaretis! Nunc vero quum sit unus Cn. Pompeius, qui non modo eorum hominum, qui nunc sunt, gloriam, sed etiam antiquitatis memoriam virtute superarit: quæ res est, quæ cujusquam animum in hac causa dubium facere pos-
28 sit? Ego enim sic existimo, in summo imperatore quattuor has res inesse oportere, scientiam rei militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem. Quis igitur hoc homine scientior umquam aut fuit aut esse debuit? qui e ludo atque pueritiæ disciplina, bello maximo, atque acerrimis hostibus, ad patris exercitum atque in militiæ disciplinam profectus est; qui extrema pueritia miles in exercitu fuit summi imperatoris, ineunte adolescentia maximi ipse exercitus imperator; qui sæpius cum hoste conflixit, quam quisquam cum inimico concertavit, plura bella gessit, quam ceteri legerunt, plures provincias confecit, quam alii concupiverunt; cujus adolescentia ad scientiam rei militaris non alienis præceptis, sed suis imperiis, non offensionibus belli, sed victoriis, non stipendiis, sed triumphis est erudita. Quod denique genus belli esse potest, in quo illum non exercuerit fortuna reipublicæ? Civile, Africanum, Transalpi-

num, Hispaniense, mixtum ex civitatibus atque ex
bellicosissimis nationibus, servile, navale bellum, va-
ria et diversa genera et bellorum et hostium, non
solum gesta ab hoc uno, sed etiam confecta, nullam
rem esse declarant in usu militari positam, quæ hu-
jus viri scientiam fugere possit.

XI. Jam vero virtuti Cn. Pompeii quæ potest par 29
oratio inveniri? Quid est, quod quisquam aut dig-
num illo aut vobis novum aut cuiquam inauditum
possit afferre? Neque enim illæ sunt solæ virtutes
imperatoriæ, quæ vulgo existimantur, labor in ne-
gotio, fortitudo in periculis, industria in agendo, ce-
leritas in conficiendo, consilium in providendo: quæ
tanta sunt in hoc uno, quanta in omnibus reliquis
imperatoribus, quos aut vidimus aut audivimus, non
fuerunt. Testis est Italia, quam ille ipse victor, L. 30
Sulla, hujus virtute et subsidio confessus est libera-
tam. Testis est Sicilia, quam multis undique cinc-
tam periculis, non terrore belli, sed celeritate consilii,
explicavit. Testis est Africa, quæ magnis oppressa
hostium copiis, eorum ipsorum sanguine redunda-
vit. Testis est Gallia, per quam legionibus nostris
in Hispaniam iter Gallorum internecione patefac-
tum est. Testis est Hispania, quæ sæpissime plu-
rimos hostes ab hoc superatos prostratosque con-
spexit. Testis est iterum et sæpius Italia, quæ,
quum servili bello tætro periculosoque premeretur,
ab hoc auxilium absente expetivit: quod bellum ex-
spectatione Pompeii attenuatum atque imminutum
est, adventu sublatum ac sepultum. Testes vero 31
jam omnes oræ atque omnes exteræ gentes ac natio-
nes, denique maria omnia, quum universa, tum in
singulis omnes sinus atque portus. Quis enim toto

mari locus per hos annos aut tam firmum habuit præsidium, ut tutus esset, aut tam fuit abditus, ut lateret? Quis navigavit, qui non se aut mortis aut servitutis periculo committeret, quum aut hieme, aut referto prædonum mari navigaret? Hoc tantum bellum, tam turpe, tam vetus, tam late divisum atque dispersum, quis umquam arbitraretur aut ab omnibus imperatoribus uno anno, aut omnibus annis
32 ab uno imperatore confici posse? Quam provinciam tenuistis a prædonibus liberam per hosce annos? quod vectigal vobis tutum fuit? quem socium defendistis? cui præsidio classibus vestris fuistis? quam multas existimatis insulas esse desertas? quam multas aut metu relictas aut a prædonibus captas urbes esse sociorum? XII. Sed quid ego longinqua commemoro? Fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium populi Romani, longe a domo bellare et propugnaculis imperii sociorum fortunas, non sua tecta defendere. Sociis ego vestris mare clausum per hosce annos dicam fuisse, quum exercitus nostri a Brundisio numquam nisi summa hieme transmiserint? Qui ad vos ab exteris nationibus venirent, captos querar, quum legati populi Romani redempti sint? Mercatoribus tutum mare non fuisse dicam, quum duodecim secures in
33 prædonum potestatem pervenerint? Cnidum aut Colophonem aut Samum, nobilissimas urbes innumerabilesque alias captas esse commemorem, quum vestros portus, atque eos portus, quibus vitam et spiritum ducitis, in prædonum fuisse potestatem sciatis? An vero ignoratis, portum Caietæ celeberrimum atque plenissimum navium, inspectante prætore, a prædonibus esse direptum? ex Miseno autem ejus ipsius liberos, qui cum prædonibus antea ibi bellum

gesserat, a prædonibus esse sublatos? Nam quid ego
Ostiense incommodum atque illam labem atque igno-
miniam reipublicæ querar, quum, prope inspectan-
tibus vobis, classis ea, cui consul populi Romani
præpositus esset, a prædonibus capta atque oppressa
est? Pro dii immortales! tantamne unius hominis in-
credibilis ac divina virtus tam brevi tempore lucem
afferre reipublicæ potuit, ut vos, qui modo ante
ostium Tiberinum classem hostium videbatis, nunc
nullam intra Oceani ostium prædonum navem esse
audiatis? Atque hæc qua celeritate gesta sint, 34
quamquam videtis, tamen a me in dicendo præter-
eunda non sunt. Quis enim umquam aut obeundi
negotii aut consequendi quæstus studio tam brevi
tempore tot loca adire, tantos cursus conficere po-
tuit, quam celeriter Cn. Pompeio duce belli impetus
navigavit? qui nondum tempestivo ad navigandum
mari Siciliam adiit, Africam exploravit, inde Sar-
diniam cum classe venit, atque hæc tria frumentaria
subsidia reipublicæ firmissimis præsidiis classibus-
que munivit. Inde quum se in Italiam recepisset, 35
duabus Hispaniis et Gallia Cisalpina præsidiis ac
navibus confirmata, missis item in oram Illyrici
maris et in Achaiam omnemque Græciam navibus,
Italiæ duo maria maximis classibus firmissimisque
præsidiis adornavit; ipse autem, ut a Brundisio pro-
fectus est, undequinquagesimo die totam ad impe-
rium populi Romani Ciliciam adjunxit: omnes, qui
ubique prædones fuerunt, partim capti interfectique
sunt, partim unius hujus se imperio ac potestati de-
diderunt. Idem Cretensibus, quum ad eum usque
in Pamphyliam legatos deprecatoresque misissent,
spem deditionis non ademit obsidesque imperavit.

Ita tantum bellum, tam diuturnum, tam longe lateque dispersum, quo bello omnes gentes ac nationes premebantur, Cn. Pompeius extrema hieme apparavit, ineunte vere suscepit, media æstate confecit.
36 XIII. Est hæc divina atque incredibilis virtus imperatoris. Quid? ceteræ, quas paullo ante commemorare cœperam, quantæ atque quam multæ sunt! Non enim solum bellandi virtus in summo atque perfecto imperatore quærenda est: sed multæ sunt artes eximiæ, hujus administræ comitesque virtutis. Ac primum quanta innocentia debent esse imperatores! quanta deinde omnibus in rebus temperantia! quanta fide! quanta facilitate! quanto ingenio! quanta humanitate! Quæ breviter, qualia sint in Cn. Pompeio, consideremus: summa enim omnia sunt, Quirites: sed ea magis ex aliorum contentione, quam ipsa per sese cognosci atque intelligi pos-
37 sunt. Quem enim imperatorem possumus ullo in numero putare, cujus in exercitu veneant centuriatus atque venierint? Quid hunc hominem magnum aut amplum de republica cogitare, qui pecuniam, ex ærario depromptam ad bellum administrandum, aut propter cupiditatem provinciæ magistratibus diviserit aut propter avaritiam Romæ in quæstu reliquerit? Vestra admurmuratio facit, Quirites, ut agnoscere videamini, qui hæc fecerint: ego autem neminem nomino: quare irasci mihi nemo poterit, nisi qui ante de se voluerit confiteri. Itaque, propter hanc avaritiam imperatorum, quantas calamitates, quocumque ventum sit, nostri exercitus ferant, quis ignorat?
38 Itinera, quæ per hosce annos in Italia per agros atque oppida civium Romanorum nostri imperatores fecerunt, recordamini: tum facilius statuetis, quid

apud exteras nationes fieri existimetis. Utrum plures
arbitramini per hosce annos militum vestrorum armis
hostium urbes, an hibernis sociorum civitates esse
deletas? Neque enim potest exercitum is continere
imperator, qui se ipsum non continet; neque severus
esse in judicando, qui alios in se severos esse judices
non vult. Hic miramur, hunc hominem tantum 39
excellere ceteris, cujus legiones sic in Asiam perve-
nerint, ut non modo manus tanti exercitus, sed ne
vestigium quidem cuiquam pacato nocuisse dicatur?
Jam vero, quemadmodum milites hibernent, quotidie
sermones ac litteræ perferuntur. Non modo, ut sump-
tum faciat in militem, nemini vis affertur, sed ne
cupienti quidem cuiquam permittitur. Hiemis enim,
non avaritiæ perfugium majores nostri in sociorum
atque amicorum tectis esse voluerunt. XIV. Age 40
vero ceteris in rebus qualis sit temperantia, conside-
rate. Unde illam tantam celeritatem et tam incredibi-
lem cursum inventum putatis? Non enim illum exi-
mia vis remigum, aut ars inaudita quædam guber-
nandi, aut venti aliqui novi tam celeriter in ultimas
terras pertulerunt, sed hæ res, quæ ceteros remorari
solent, non retardarunt: non avaritia ab instituto
cursu ad prædam aliquam devocavit, non libido ad
voluptatem, non amœnitas ad delectationem, non no-
bilitas Urbis ad cognitionem, non denique labor ipse
ad quietem: postremo signa et tabulas ceteraque or-
namenta Græcorum oppidorum, quæ ceteri tollenda
esse arbitrantur, ea sibi ille ne visenda quidem ex-
istimavit. Itaque omnes quidem nunc in his locis 41
Cn. Pompeium sicut aliquem, non ex hac urbe mis-
sum, sed de cælo delapsum intuentur; nunc denique
incipiunt credere, fuisse homines Romanos hac quon-

dam continentia; quod jam nationibus exteris incredibile ac falso memoriæ proditum videbatur. Nunc imperii vestri splendor illis gentibus lucem afferre cœpit: nunc intelligunt non sine causa majores suos tum, quum ea temperantia magistratus habebamus, servire populo Romano, quam imperare aliis maluisse. Jam vero ita faciles aditus ad eum privatorum, ita liberæ querimoniæ de aliorum injuriis esse dicuntur, ut is, qui dignitate principibus excellit, facilitate
42 par infimis esse videatur. Jam quantum consilio, quantum dicendi gravitate et copia valeat, in quo ipso inest quædam dignitas imperatoria, vos, Quirites, hoc ipso ex loco sæpe cognostis. Fidem vero ejus inter socios quantam existimari putatis, quam hostes omnium gentium sanctissimam judicarint? Humanitate jam tanta est, ut difficile dictu sit, utrum hostes magis virtutem ejus pugnantes timuerint, an mansuetudinem victi dilexerint. Et quisquam dubitabit, quin huic hoc tantum bellum transmittendum sit, qui ad omnia nostræ memoriæ bella conficienda divino quodam consilio natus esse videatur?

43 XV. Et quoniam auctoritas multum in bellis quoque administrandis atque imperio militari valet, certe nemini dubium est, quin ea re idem ille imperator plurimum possit. Vehementer autem pertinere ad bella administranda, quid hostes, quid socii de imperatoribus vestris existiment, quis ignorat, quum sciamus, homines in tantis rebus, ut aut contemnant aut metuant aut oderint aut ament, opinione non minus et fama, quam aliqua certa ratione commoveri? Quod igitur nomen umquam in orbe terrarum clarius fuit? cujus res gestæ pares? de quo homine vos, id quod maxime facit auctoritatem, tanta et tam præ-

clara judicia fecistis? An vero ullam usquam esse 44
oram tam desertam putatis, quo non illius diei fama
pervaserit, quum universus populus Romanus, referto
foro completisque omnibus templis, ex quibus hic lo-
cus conspici potest, unum sibi ad commune omnium
gentium bellum Cn. Pompeium imperatorem depo-
poscit? Itaque, ut plura non dicam neque aliorum ex-
emplis confirmem, quantum hujus auctoritas valeat
in bello, ab eodem Cn. Pompeio omnium rerum egre-
giarum exempla sumantur: qui quo die a vobis
maritimo bello præpositus est imperator, tanta re-
pente vilitas annonæ ex summa inopia et caritate
rei frumentariæ consecuta est, unius hominis spe ac
nomine, quantam vix ex summa ubertate agrorum
diuturna pax efficere potuisset. Jam, accepta in Ponto 45
calamitate ex eo prælio, de quo vos paullo ante invi-
tus admonui, quum socii pertimuissent, hostium opes
animique crevissent, satis firmum præsidium pro-
vincia non haberet, amisissetis Asiam, Quirites, nisi
id ipsum temporis divinitus Cn. Pompeium ad eas re-
giones fortuna populi Romani attulisset. Hujus ad-
ventus et Mithridatem insolita inflammatum victoria
continuit et Tigranem magnis copiis minitantem Asiæ
retardavit. Et quisquam dubitabit, quid virtute per-
fecturus sit, qui tantum auctoritate profecerit? aut
quam facile imperio atque exercitu socios et vectiga-
lia conservaturus sit, qui ipso nomine ac rumore
defenderit? XVI. Age vero, illa res quantam decla- 46
rat ejusdem hominis apud hostes populi Romani
auctoritatem, quod ex locis tam longinquis tamque
diversis tam brevi tempore omnes uni huic se dedide-
runt? quod Cretensium legati, quum in eorum insula
noster imperator exercitusque esset, ad Cn. Pompeium

in ultimas prope terras venerunt, eique se omnes Cretensium civitates dedere velle dixerunt? Quid? idem iste Mithridates nonne ad eumdem Cn. Pompeium legatum usque in Hispaniam misit? eum, quem Pompeius legatum semper judicavit, ii, quibus semper erat molestum, ad eum potissimum esse missum, speculatorem, quam legatum judicari maluerunt. Potestis igitur jam constituere, Quirites, hanc auctoritatem, multis postea rebus gestis magnisque vestris judiciis amplificatam, quantum apud illos reges, quantum apud exteras nationes valituram esse existimetis.

47 Reliquum est, ut de felicitate, quam præstare de se ipso nemo potest, meminisse et commemorare de altero possumus, sicut æquum est homini de potsetate deorum, timide et pauca dicamus. Ego enim sic existimo: Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni, Mario, et ceteris magnis imperatoribus, non solum propter virtutem, sed etiam propter fortunam, sæpius imperia mandata atque exercitus esse commissos. Fuit enim profecto quibusdam summis viris quædam ad amplitudinem et gloriam et ad res magnas bene gerendas divinitus adjuncta fortuna: de hujus autem hominis felicitate, quo de nunc agimus, hac utar moderatione dicendi, non ut in illius potestate fortunam positam esse dicam, sed ut præterita meminisse, reliqua sperare videamur, ne aut invisa diis immortalibus oratio
48 nostra aut ingrata esse videatur. Itaque non sum prædicaturus, Quirites, quantas ille res domi militiæque, terra marique, quantaque felicitate gesserit; ut ejus semper voluntatibus non modo cives assenserint, socii obtemperarint, hostes obedierint, sed etiam venti tempestatesque obsecundarint. Hoc brevissime

dicam, neminem umquam tam impudentem fuisse,
qui a diis immortalibus tot et tantas res tacitus au-
deret optare, quot et quantas dii immortales ad Cn.
Pompeium detulerunt. Quod ut illi proprium ac per-
petuum sit, Quirites, quum communis salutis atque
imperii, tum ipsius hominis causa (sicuti facitis) velle
et optare debetis.

Quare quum et bellum sit ita necessarium, ut neg- 49
ligi non possit, ita magnum, ut accuratissime sit
administrandum, et quum ei imperatorem præficere
possitis, in quo sit eximia belli scientia, singularis
virtus, clarissima auctoritas, egregia fortuna: dubi-
tabitis, Quirites, quin hoc tantum boni, quod vobis
ab diis immortalibus oblatum et datum est, in rem-
publicam conservandam atque amplificandam confe-
ratis? XVII. Quod si Romæ Cn. Pompeius priva- 50
tus esset hoc tempore, tamen ad tantum bellum is
erat deligendus atque mittendus. Nunc, quum ad ce-
teras summas utilitates hæc quoque opportunitas ad-
jungatur, ut in iis ipsis locis adsit, ut habeat exerci-
tum, ut ab iis, qui habent, accipere statim possit,
quid exspectamus? aut cur non, ducibus diis immor-
talibus, eidem, cui cetera summa cum salute reipub-
licæ commissa sunt, hoc quoque bellum regium com-
mittimus?

At enim vir clarissimus, amantissimus reipublicæ, 51
vestris beneficiis amplissimis affectus, Q. Catulus,
itemque summis ornamentis honoris, fortunæ, virtu-
tis, ingenii præditus, Q. Hortensius, ab hac ratione
dissentiunt: quorum ego auctoritatem apud vos mul-
tis locis plurimum valuisse et valere oportere con-
fiteor, sed in hac causa, tametsi cognoscitis aucto-
ritates contrarias virorum fortissimorum et clarissi-

morum, tamen, omissis auctoritatibus, ipsa re et ratione exquirere possumus veritatem: atque hoc facilius, quod ea omnia, quæ adhuc a me dicta sunt, iidem isti vera esse concedunt, et necessarium bellum esse et magnum et in uno Cn. Pompeio summa esse
52 omnia. Quid igitur ait Hortensius? Si uni omnia tribuenda sint, unum dignissimum esse Pompeium, sed ad unum tamen omnia deferri non oportere. Obsolevit jam ista oratio, re multo magis quam verbis refutata. Nam tu idem, Q. Hortensi, multa, pro tua summa copia ac singulari facultate dicendi, et in senatu contra virum fortem A. Gabinium graviter ornateque dixisti, quum is de uno imperatore contra prædones constituendo legem promulgasset, et ex hoc ipso loco permulta item contra eam legem verba
53 fecisti. Quid? tum, per deos immortales, si plus apud populum Romanum auctoritas tua, quam ipsius populi Romani salus et vera causa valuisset, hodie hanc gloriam atque hoc orbis terræ imperium teneremus? An tibi tum imperium esse hoc videbatur, quum populi Romani legati, prætores quæstoresque capiebantur? quum ex omnibus provinciis commeatu et privato et publico prohibebamur? quum ita clausa nobis erant maria omnia, ut neque privatam rem transmarinam neque publicam jam obire possemus?
54 XVIII. Quæ civitas antea umquam fuit, non dico Atheniensium, quæ satis late quondam mare tenuisse dicitur, non Karthaginiensium, qui permultum classe maritimisque rebus valuerunt, non Rhodiorum, quorum usque ad nostram memoriam disciplina navalis et gloria remansit: quæ civitas umquam antea tam tenuis, tam parva insula fuit, quæ non portus suos et agros et aliquam partem regionis atque

oræ maritimæ per se ipsa defenderet? At hercule aliquot annos continuos ante legem Gabiniam ille populus Romanus, cujus usque ad nostram memoriam nomen invictum in navalibus pugnis permanserat, magna ac multo maxima parte non modo utilitatis, sed dignitatis atque imperii caruit: nos, quorum ma- 55
jores Antiochum regem classe Persenque superarunt omnibusque navalibus pugnis Karthaginienses, homines in maritimis rebus exercitatissimos paratissimosque, vicerunt, ii nullo in loco jam prædonibus pares esse poteramus. Nos, qui antea non modo Italiam tutam habebamus, sed omnes socios in ultimis oris auctoritate nostri imperii salvos præstare poteramus, tum, quum insula Delos, tam procul a nobis in Ægeo mari posita, quo omnes undique cum mercibus atque oneribus commeabant, referta divitiis, parva, sine muro, nihil timebat, iidem non modo provinciis atque oris Italiæ maritimis ac portubus nostris, sed etiam Appia jam via carebamus. Et his temporibus non pudebat magistratus populi Romani in hunc ipsum locum escendere, quum eum vobis majores vestri exuviis nauticis et classium spoliis ornatum reliquissent. XIX. Bono te animo tum, 56
Q. Hortensi, populus Romanus et ceteros, qui erant in eadem sententia, dicere existimavit ea, quæ sentiebatis; sed tamen in salute communi idem populus Romanus dolori suo maluit, quam auctoritati vestræ obtemperare. Itaque una lex, unus vir, unus annus non modo nos illa miseria ac turpitudine liberavit, sed etiam effecit, ut aliquando vere videremur omnibus gentibus ac nationibus terra marique imperare. Quo mihi etiam indignius videtur, obtrectatum 57
esse adhuc, Gabinio dicam, anne Pompeio, an utri-

que? (id quod est verius:) ne legaretur A. Gabinius Cn. Pompeio expetenti ac postulanti. Utrum ille, qui postulat ad tantum bellum legatum, quem velit, idoneus non est, qui impetret, quum ceteri ad expilandos socios diripiendasque provincias, quos voluerunt, legatos eduxerint: an ipse, cujus lege salus ac dignitas populo Romano atque omnibus gentibus constituta est, expers esse debet gloriæ ejus imperatoris atque ejus exercitus, qui consilio ipsius atque peri-
58 culo est constitutus? An C. Falcidius, Q. Metellus, Q. Cælius Latiniensis, Cn. Lentulus, quos omnes honoris causa nomino, quum tribuni plebis fuissent, anno proximo legati esse potuerunt, in hoc uno Gabinio sunt tam diligentes, qui in hoc bello, quod lege Gabinia geritur, in hoc imperatore atque exercitu, quem per vos ipse constituit, etiam præcipuo jure esse deberet? De quo legando spero consules ad senatum relaturos. Qui si dubitabunt aut gravabuntur, ego me profiteor relaturum, neque me impediet cujusquam, Quirites, inimicum edictum, quo minus, fretus vobis, vestrum jus beneficiumque defendam neque præter intercessionem quidquam audiam; de qua, ut arbitror, isti ipsi, qui minantur, etiam atque etiam, quid liceat, considerabunt. Mea quidem sententia, Quirites, unus A. Gabinius belli maritimi rerumque gestarum Cn. Pompeio socius ascribitur, propterea quod alter uni illud bellum suscipiendum vestris suffragiis detulit, alter delatum susceptumque confecit.

59 XX. Reliquum est, ut de Q. Catuli auctoritate et sententia dicendum esse videatur. Qui quum ex vobis quæreret, si in uno Cn. Pompeio omnia poneretis, si quid eo factum esset, in quo spem essetis

habituri, cepit magnum suæ virtutis fructum ac dig-
nitatis, quum omnes prope una voce, "in eo ipso
vos spem habituros esse" dixistis. Etenim talis est
vir, ut nulla res tanta sit ac tam difficilis, quam ille
non et consilio regere et integritate tueri et virtute
conficere possit. Sed in hoc ipso ab eo vehementis-
sime dissentio, quod, quo minus certa est hominum ac
minus diuturna vita, hoc magis respublica, dum per
deos immortales licet, frui debet summi hominis vita
atque virtute.—"At enim ne quid novi fiat contra 60
exempla atque instituta majorum."—Non dico hoc
loco, majores nostros semper in pace consuetudini,
in bello utilitati paruisse, semper ad novos casus
temporum novorum consiliorum rationes accommo-
dasse: non dicam, duo bella maxima, Punicum et His-
paniense, ab uno imperatore esse confecta, duasque
urbes potentissimas, quæ huic imperio maxime mi-
nitabantur, Karthaginem atque Numantiam, ab eo-
dem Scipione esse deletas: non commemorabo, nuper
ita vobis patribusque vestris esse visum, ut in uno
C. Mario spes imperii poneretur, ut idem cum Jugur-
tha, idem cum Cimbris, idem cum Theutonis bellum
administraret: in ipso Cn. Pompeio, in quo novi 61
constitui nihil vult Q. Catulus, quam multa sint nova
summa Q. Catuli voluntate constituta, recordamini.
XXI. Quid enim tam novum, quam adolescentulum
privatum exercitum difficili reipublicæ tempore con-
ficere? Confecit. Huic præesse? Præfuit. Rem opti-
me ductu suo gerere? Gessit. Quid tam præter con-
suetudinem, quam homini peradolescenti, cujus ætas
a senatorio gradu longe abesset, imperium atque exer-
citum dari? Siciliam permitti atque Africam bel-
lumque in ea administrandum? Fuit in his provin-

ciis singulari innocentia, gravitate, virtute: bellum in Africa maximum confecit, victorem exercitum deportavit. Quid vero tam inauditum, quam equitem Romanum triumphare? At eam quoque rem populus Romanus non modo vidit, sed etiam omni studio vi-
62 sendam et concelebrandam putavit. Quid tam inusitatum, quam ut, quum duo consules clarissimi fortissimique essent, eques Romanus ad bellum maximum formidolosissimumque pro consule mitteretur? Missus est. Quo quidem tempore, quum esset nonnemo in senatu, qui diceret, *Non oportere mitti hominem privatum pro consule*: L. Philippus dixisse dicitur, *Non se illum sua sententia pro consule, sed pro consulibus mittere.* Tanta in eo reipublicæ bene gerendæ spes constituebatur, ut duorum consulum munus unius adolescentis virtuti committeretur. Quid tam singulare, quam ut ex senatusconsulto, legibus solutus, consul ante fieret, quam ullum alium magistratum per leges capere licuisset? quid tam incredibile, quam ut iterum eques Romanus ex senatusconsulto triumpharet? Quæ in omnibus hominibus nova post hominum memoriam constituta sunt, ea tam multa non sunt, quam hæc, quæ in hoc uno
63 homine vidimus. Atque hæc tot exempla, tanta ac tam nova, profecta sunt in eumdem hominem a Q. Catuli atque a ceterorum ejusdem dignitatis amplissimorum hominum auctoritate.

XXII. Quare videant, ne sit periniquum et non ferendum, illorum auctoritatem de Cn. Pompeii dignitate a vobis comprobatam semper esse, vestrum ab illis de eodem homine judicium populique Romani auctoritatem improbari; præsertim quum jam suo jure populus Romanus in hoc homine suam auctori-

tatem vel contra omnes, qui dissentiunt, possit de-
fendere: propterea quod, istis reclamantibus, vos
unum illum ex omnibus delegistis, quem bello præ-
donum præponeretis. Hoc si vos temere fecistis 64
et reipublicæ parum consuluistis, recte isti studia
vestra suis consiliis regere conantur; sin autem vos
plus tum in republica vidistis, vos, his repugnanti-
bus, per vosmetipsos dignitatem huic imperio, salu-
tem orbi terrarum attulistis: aliquando isti principes
et sibi et ceteris populi Romani universi auctoritati
parendum esse fateantur. Atque in hoc bello Asiatico
et regio non solum militaris illa virtus, quæ est in
Cn. Pompeio singularis, sed aliæ quoque virtutes
animi multæ et magnæ requiruntur. Difficile est in
Asia, Cilicia, Syria, regnisque interiorum nationum
ita versari vestrum imperatorem, ut nihil aliud, nisi
de hoste ac de laude cogitet. Deinde etiamsi qui
sunt pudore ac temperantia moderatiores, tamen eos
esse tales propter multitudinem cupidorum homi-
num nemo arbitratur. Difficile est dictu, Quirites, 65
quanto in odio simus apud exteras nationes, propter
eorum, quos ad eas per hos annos cum imperio misi-
mus, injurias ac libidines. Quod enim fanum putatis
in illis terris nostris magistratibus religiosum, quam
civitatem sanctam, quam domum satis clausam ac
munitam fuisse? Urbes jam locupletes ac copiosæ
requiruntur, quibus causa belli propter diripiendi
cupiditatem inferatur. Libenter hæc coram cum 66
Q. Catulo et Q. Hortensio disputarem, summis et cla-
rissimis viris. Noverunt enim sociorum vulnera,
vident eorum calamitates, querimonias audiunt. Pro
sociis vos contra hostes exercitum mittere putatis, an
hostium simulatione contra socios atque amicos? Quæ

civitas est in Asia, quae non modo imperatoris aut legati, sed unius tribuni militum animos ac spiritus capere possit? XXIII. Quare, etiamsi quem habetis, qui collatis signis exercitus regios superare posse videatur, tamen, nisi erit idem, qui se a pecuniis sociorum, qui ab eorum conjugibus ac liberis, qui ab ornamentis fanorum atque oppidorum, qui ab auro gazaque regia manus, oculos, animum cohibere possit, non erit idoneus, qui ad bellum Asiaticum re-
67 giumque mittatur. Ecquam putatis civitatem pacatam fuisse, quae locuples sit? ecquam esse locupletem, quae istis pacata esse videatur? Ora maritima, Quirites, Cn. Pompeium non solum propter rei militaris gloriam, sed etiam propter animi continentiam requisivit. Videbat enim praetores locupletari quotannis pecunia publica, praeter paucos; neque eos quidquam aliud assequi classium nomine, nisi ut, detrimentis accipiendis, majore affici turpitudine videremur. Nunc, qua cupiditate homines in provincias, quibus jacturis, quibus conditionibus proficiscantur, ignorant videlicet isti, qui ad unum deferenda esse omnia non arbitrantur? Quasi vero Cn. Pompeium non quum suis virtutibus, tum etiam alienis vitiis
68 magnum esse videamus. Quare nolite dubitare, quin huic uni credatis omnia, qui inter annos tot unus inventus sit, quem socii in urbes suas cum exercitu venisse gaudeant. Quod si auctoritatibus hanc causam, Quirites, confirmandam putatis: est vobis auctor vir bellorum omnium maximarumque rerum peritissimus, P. Servilius, cujus tantae res gestae terra marique exstiterunt, ut, quum de bello deliberetis, auctor vobis gravior esse nemo debeat; est C. Curio, summis vestris beneficiis, maximisque rebus gestis, summo inge-

nio et prudentia præditus; est Cn. Lentulus, in quo omnes, pro amplissimis vestris honoribus, summum consilium, summam gravitatem esse cognovistis; est C. Cassius, integritate, virtute, constantia singulari. Quare videte, ut horum auctoritatibus illorum orationi, qui dissentiunt, respondere posse videamur.

XXIV. Quæ quum ita sint, C. Manili, primum 69
istam tuam et legem et voluntatem et sententiam laudo vehementissimeque comprobo, deinde te hortor, ut auctore populo Romano maneas in sententia neve cujusquam vim aut minas pertimescas. Primum in te satis esse animi perseverantiæque arbitror; deinde, quum tantam multitudinem cum tanto studio adesse videamus, quantam nunc iterum in eodem homine præficiendo videmus: quid est, quod aut de re, aut de perficiendi facultate dubitemus? Ego autem, quidquid in me est studii, consilii, laboris, ingenii, quidquid hoc beneficio populi Romani atque hac potestate prætoria, quidquid auctoritate, fide, constantia possum, id omne ad hanc rem conficiendam tibi et populo Romano polliceor ac defero: testorque omnes 70
deos, et eos maxime, qui huic loco temploque præsident, qui omnium mentes eorum, qui ad rempublicam adeunt, maxime perspiciunt, me hoc neque rogatu facere cujusquam, neque quo Cn. Pompeii gratiam mihi per hanc causam conciliari putem, neque quo mihi ex cujusquam amplitudine aut præsidia periculis aut adjumenta honoribus quæram; propterea quod pericula facile, ut hominem præstare oportet, innocentia tecti repellemus, honores autem neque ab uno neque ex hoc loco, sed eadem nostra illa laboriosissima ratione vitæ, si vestra voluntas feret, consequemur. Quamobrem, quidquid in hac causa mihi sus- 71

ceptum est, Quirites, id ego omne me reipublicæ causa suscepisse confirmo, tantumque abest, ut aliquam bonam gratiam mihi quæsisse videar, ut multas me etiam simultates partim obscuras, partim apertas intelligam, mihi non necessarias, vobis non inutiles, suscepisse. Sed ego me, hoc honore præditum, tantis vestris beneficiis affectum, statui, Quirites, vestram voluntatem et reipublicæ dignitatem et salutem provinciarum atque sociorum meis omnibus commodis et rationibus præferre oportere.

INTRODUCTION.

This speech was delivered B.C. 65, and, as Cicero tells us in the opening sentences, it was the first that he made in the popular assembly. The occasion of it was the proposal of a law by C. Manilius, a tribune of the plebs, to give Pompey full powers to undertake the war with Mithridates. This law was popular with the plebs, in whose favour Pompey at this time was, and was anxiously desired by the Equites, whose capital was in danger in Asia. The high aristocratical party, headed by Catulus and Hortensius, objected that as Pompey was already clothed with the immense authority which he received from the Gabinian law, to give him this new command would be merely to place in his hands the whole Roman empire. Their objections were overruled and the law was carried. The speech is interesting for many reasons, as shewing the manner in which the provinces were misgoverned, and the consciousness already awakening of the approach of the Empire. Further historical illustration of the events alluded to in the speech should be sought in the lives of Pompey and of Mithridates in the Dictionary of Biography.

NOTES TO PRO LEGE MANILIA.

I. § 1. *Frequens conspectus vester*, "the sight of your assembly:" the awkwardness of the phrase is caused by *frequens* being in agreement with *conspectus* instead of being in the gen. plur. between *vester* and *conspectus*. Perhaps it is more natural to take *vester conspectus* as meaning "the sight of you" relatively to the speaker, than to compare it with *consessus vester*, (= *vos qui considetis*,) and to call it a use of the abstract for the concrete. Cf. "scio iis fore *meum conspectum* invisum," Ter. Hec. v. ii. 22.

Ad agendum amplissimus: the *place* was the *rostra*. *Agere* implies *dicere*, (cf. inf. § 2, "ad agendum facultatis tantum," &c.,) but is *limited to speaking on a question which the people were to decide with their votes*, (*rogationes*). It is thus proper to *official* speakers.

rationes, "the plan," "the principles." Cicero is very fond of this word, and uses it in various senses, which are not so hard to reconcile if the *root-meaning* is kept in view. "Man," he says, "has *ratio* and *oratio*," the faculties of *thought* (*reor*) and *speech* (*oro*). The mark of *thought* is *order, system, method, regularity of course:* most of the meanings of *ratio* come from one of these notions.

prohibuerunt, "withheld me." He had been Ædile and Quæstor and might thus have spoken from the rostra had he chosen.

hujus auctoritatem loci, "to approach the majesty of this place."

ingenio, i.e. "natural powers;" *industriâ*, "labour."

temporibus, "times of *need*." Cf. inf., "in privatorum *periculis*:" so, often.

transmittendum putavi: after verbs of *thinking, judging, saying*, and the like, *esse* is often not added in Cicero to the gerundive or participle in *-tus*. But cf. inf. § 2, "tribuendum esse duxerunt;" § 3, "lætandum jure esse video."

§ 2. *Ita neque...et;* almost like "So, *while* this place was not," &c.

amplissimum, *not* "largest," but "most honourable." Cf. supra.

ter prætor primus, "was thrice declared at the head of the list of candidates for the prætorship." *Primus* goes with *renuntiatus sum*. Something must have broken off the *comitia* to allow of this: *ter* goes closely with *propter dilationem, &c.*

honoribus mandandis, "by bestowing dignities (offices) upon me." Cf. "certat tergeminis tollere honoribus."

forensi usu, i.e. as a pleader in the law-courts of the Forum.

§ 3. *illud*, at the head of a sentence, like ἐκεῖνο, refers to what is coming.

ratione...oratio. Here the contrast is, "*language* cannot fail me in this case, though the *style* which is proper to this place is strange to me." Cf. sup. § 1.

virtute, "merits," "excellence."

II. § 4. *vectigalibus*, from *vectigales.*

alter relictus, i.e. Mithridates *left* after his defeat;

alter lacessitus, Tigranes exasperated by being attacked. Cf. § 23.

oblatam esse, i.e. by the withdrawal of Lucullus. Cf. § 26, ad fin.

arbitrantur better than *arbitratur*, as the thought is *conjoint*.

Equitibus R.: they were *publicani*. Cicero himself was an *eques*, and afterwards proud to be thought their leader.

Ex Asia, i.e. the *province*, which comprised only the western part of Asia Minor.

quorum...detulerunt is a sort of explanatory *parenthesis:* the *contents* of the letters follow in the *oratio obliqua*, "Bithyniæ...vicos exustos esse," &c.

quorum magnæ res, "who have large capital at stake, invested in working your tributes." With *occupatæ* cf. "*Occupy* till I come."

§ 5. *Bithyniæ quæ nunc, &c.* It was *bequeathed* to the Romans, B.C. 75, by its last king, Nicomedes III.

Ariobarzanis, i.e. Cappadocia.

huic qui successerit, M'. Acilius Glabrio.

§ 6. He divides his subject into three heads. The *first* ("de *genere* belli") is discussed from this point to § 20; the *second* ("de *magnitudine* belli") from § 20 to § 27; the *third* ("de imperatore deligendo") takes up the rest of the oration.

agitur...agitur...aguntur...aguntur; these are four *subdivisions* of the first head, ("de genere belli,") and are discussed (α) § 7—12, (β) § 12—14, (γ) § 14—17, (δ) § 17—20.

pacis ornamenta, &c., "what contributes to your splendour in peace and your strength in war." Cf. § 14, "et belli utilitatem et pacis dignitatem."

requiretis, "you will *miss,*" "*feel* that you have lost."

III. § 7. *et quoniam,* this is (*a*) "agitur populi Romani gloria;" cf. sup.

concepta, better than *suscepta,* which is too *external.*

trucidandos denotavit, "marked out for slaughter:" this is a very idiomatic use of the gerundive after an active verb. Cf. "Tu *secanda* marmora *locas* sub ipsum funus," Hor. Carm. II. xviii. 17.

ab illo tempore, depends closely on *jam tertium et vicesimum.*

in Asiæ luce keeps up the metaphor of *latebris occultare,* and *emergere:* "not in the dark and distant recesses of Cappadocia, but in the full day of your province."

ita, like *itaque.*

§ 8. *insignia victoriæ,* i.e. they had *triumphed* on account of *victories* over Mithridates, but they had not *subdued* him.

quod egerunt, "*because* of their activity;" *quod reliquerunt,* i.e. *Mithridatem.* Cf. sup., "alter *relictus.*"

Murenam, &c.: this was the father of the Murena whom Cicero defended. He had forced Mithridates to renew the war, after Sulla had made peace, in the hope of enriching himself. He was not successful, and A. Gabinius was sent out by Sulla to supersede him. He was, however, allowed a "triumph," B.C. 80.

IV. § 9. *posteaquam ædificasset:* the subjunctive mood gives the notion of his *waiting* for the completion of his preparations *before he sent.* The indicative mood would only express the *sequence* of the *sending* to the *preparation.*

simularet, "pretending *all the time*," not a single *point* of time, like the completion of his works.

in Hispaniam, i.e. to Sertorius.

duobus...uno...binis. Cicero is fond of turning an antithesis on *unus;* cf. § 7, "*uno* die, *totâ* Asia," &c.

Cn. Pompeii consilio; he conquered *Perperna* the *murderer* of Sertorius, but he had hardly been able to cope with *Sertorius.*

felicitati, "good luck."

hæc extrema; cf. § 26.

§ 11. *quoniam is est exorsus*, i.e. "I laid that down as my *first* topic; of Lucullus I will speak later."

videte quem...putetis. This is not merely *redundant* for "qui vobis animus suscipiendus sit;" it is meant to appeal to *inward reflection* on the part of the hearers. Cicero uses similar expressions frequently; cf. 27.

V. *injuriosius*, "some *slight* wrong."

appellati superbius, "were insultingly addressed." Another account says that they were beaten and outraged. Cicero perhaps uses a light expression to heighten the contrast.

voluerunt, "willed," not "wished."

jus legationis, "the sacred rights of ambassadors:" *persecuti sunt* and *relinquetis* are of course used as opposites; this is a common meaning of *persequi. Relinquetis* like *negligetis*, *ἐάσετε.*

§ 12. *videte ne, ut ... sic: we* reverse the order of these two clauses: the Latin order, in which concentration is the first thing aimed at, places subordinate clauses and relative clauses generally within the limits of what is to the sense and construction the *main* clause, because the *last* in the order of the *facts.*

quid quod, &c., this is, in his division, I. *β.,* "salus sociorum."

cuncta Asia: some have wished to take this as the *nominative case* in apposition with *civitates,* on the ground that *cunctus* cannot be used like *totus* to denote merely *geographical extent,* as it must do here if taken in the ablative, but only a *mass* of *individuals* (quasi *conjuncti*), "the whole of the Asiatics." This is not the case; cf. Pro Archia, § 4, "in ceteris Asiæ partibus *cunctâque Græciâ.*"

vestrum auxilium exspectare...certum, &c.; "*to look to you* for aid." There is an antithesis between "being *forced* to look for aid," and "*being afraid* to say *what* aid they long for."

§ 13. *in quo summa, &c.,* "in whom all the highest excellences are combined."

quo carent ægrius, "on which account they feel it the greater hardship to be denied his services."

quod ceteros, &c., "because the other men whom we send out are such." *ejusmodi homines* is almost *predicative,* like *τοιούτους γὰρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκπέμπομεν.*

cum imperio, "with military command."

non multum ab hostili expugnatione differant; cf. § 65.

VI. § 14. *præsertim quum, &c.;* here begins, in his division, I. *γ.,* "aguntur certissima populi Romani vectigalia."

tanta sunt, "are *such,*" "so *scanty.*" Cf. *tantum dico,* "this much I say" ("and no more"). The adverbial use of *tantum,* "only," is akin to this latter use: e.g. *tantum veritas mihi placet,* "with *nothing more or less than this* (viz. truth) am I pleased," "it takes *this much* to please me."

ubertate agrorum, &c.: this *triple division* is to be noted

as it comes up repeatedly again: "the richness of the soil" is represented by *decumæ*, "the extent of pasture" by *scriptura*, "the multitude of exports" by "harbour-revenues," *portoria, ex portu vectigal.*

§ 15. *pecua*, from *pecu*, an old form, is restored by some in this place from a reference by Servius, though lost in all MSS. An older form still was *pecuda.*

ita neque, &c.: the *publicani* or their agents had corresponding names, viz. *portitores, decumani, pecuarii. Scriptura* is said to be derived from the practice of "*stock-farmers*" *entering* the number of their flocks or herds in the *books* of the *publicani.*

§ 16. *exercent atque exigunt: exigunt* is restricted to the actual raising of the taxes in the province; *exercent* is applicable equally to those in Rome who *shared the contract.*

familias maximas, "the immense *gangs of slaves.*"

salinis is read by most MSS., but is objected to as being out of place here, and is changed into *silvis* or into *saltibus*, either of which might answer to *pascua.*

in portubus atque custodiis: custodiis perhaps cannot be certainly explained: it will hardly do to take it as = *in portubus custodiendis;* better to make it a kind of *coast-guard*, to look out for *irregular landings*, while the *portitores* collected the dues in the *regular harbours.*

frui...qui vobis fructui sunt: note the repetition = *qui vos ut his fruamini efficiunt.* Cicero is very fond of keeping up the attention by repeating words of a similar origin or sound.

VII. § 17. This is I. δ., "aguntur bona multorum civium."

illud, not "*that*," properly, but "*this*," referring to what is coming.

proposueram quum essem, &c.: vide § 6, ad fin.

honestissimi, &c., "of the highest character and position.

rationes et copias: copias is merely "capital," *rationes* is *almost* "enterprise:" "who have made that province the field for the *investment* of their *capital.*"

curæ is of course the dat. sing., not nom. pl.

§ 18. *a republicâ sejunctam,* "cannot be without influence on." The antithesis is more clear in Greek—*ἰδίᾳ, κοινῇ.*

etenim primum illud: primum may be taken either adverbially as contrasting with *deinde* below, or adjectivally, "this first consideration:" the former is better.

amissis: some read *amissa,* "the revenues lost by the *publicani,*" being unwilling to take *amissis* as "ruined" =*perditis.* It does *not* mean "*ruined,*" but literally "*lost.*" "These will not be *able* to take the contract, others will be *afraid* to take it, and thus, though victory may restore to our army the spoil of the province, *we shall have lost our tax-farmers.*"

§ 19. *tum quum...amiserant.* The pluperf. ind. after *quum* is a less frequent exception to the common rule (*quum temporale* takes the subj. in the imperf. and pluperf.) than the imperf. ind. is; but where, as here, a specific point of time merely is to be indicated, it is sufficiently frequent and intelligible to prevent any doubt about the reading. Cf. § 41, "tum quum habebamus;" and In Catil. III. § 16, "nec quum aliquid *mandarat,* confectum putabat."

fidem, "credit:" *concidisse,* suggests "crash."

ut non plures, "*without* dragging." Cf. inf., "ruere illa," &c. Like *quin.*

hæc fides atque hæc ratio pecuniarum, "credit *here,* the

system of money transactions *here.*" The *bankers* had stalls in the *Forum.*

conjunctæ cum republicâ: this goes closely with *fortunæ, &c.* Cf. sup. § 18, "sapientiæ, videre multorum civium," &c.

VIII. § 20. He now takes up the second head, "de belli magnitudine."

atque ut omnes, &c.: cf. Pro Archia, § 21, where nearly all these exploits are mentioned.

§ 21. *ducibus Sertorianis,* "under the conduct of partisans of Sertorius:" one was L. Varius.

a nullo istorum, &c., they extolled Lucullus, and at the same time made light of the war which *remained* for his successors. Cf. inf., "requiretur fortasse," &c.

IX. § 22. *ut eorum collectio dispersa*: the natural expression would be *ut dispersorum collectio; dispersa* is probably added by an after-thought. It would be incorrect to say *ut eorum collectio dispersorum,* so that it is not properly a case of hypallage.

gravis atque vehemens opinio, "a strong and exciting belief."

§ 23. *concitatæ sunt ... erat injectus ... concitabantur ... commovebatur.* Note the *tenses*: "On the arrival of Lucullus new nations *started up* against him (*aorist*); a panic *had* seized them (*pluperfect*); and they *were now starting up* under its influence, while his own soldiery *were pining* for home (*imperfect*).

§ 24. *fuit enim, &c.,* "for *this* was the end of it." The soldiers *mutinied.*

§ 25. *incolumis* has often this force, "*before his fall*:" so

"*before his condemnation*" of a detected and punished criminal.

§ 26. *qui tamen,* "who even at that point;" this is almost the literal sense of *tamen,* which is an old case of the pronominal root = ὁ, ἡ, τό, whence *tum, tam.*

sed ea, &c., i.e. *quæ prætereo: perspicite* has two objects in loose apposition, *ea—quantum.*

factum, "how great you must consider it to have grown by the union," &c.

X. § 27. He now takes up the third and last head, "de imperatore deligendo."

quare esset, not *sit,* because referring to the part of his speech which was *past* (*fecisse*), and what it *had been designed* to prove.

innocentium; cf. § 13, ad fin.

præficiendum putaretis: this introduction of verbs of *thinking* is much in Cicero's manner. Cf. sup., "dicendum *esse videatur;*" and § 26, "perspicite, quantum ...putetis;" and *passim.*

§ 28. *esse debuit,* "had a right to be." The Latin idiom keeps the present infin. of the subst. verb when joined with *debere,* and marks all changes by the tense of the latter; e.g. *debet esse, debebit esse, debuit esse,* not *debet fuisse, &c.* So with *oportere* and *posse,* and like verbs.

e ludo, &c., "from school and from his boyish exercises to his father's camp and the exercises of active service." Note the *alliteration* in *pueritiæ* and *militiæ, &c.* Cicero is fond of such tricks of sound.

qui extremâ pueritiâ; not "in *extreme* boyhood," but "*before he was out of his boyhood.*"

summi imperatoris: his own father. *Maximi ipse, &c.,* that which he brought to Sulla.

non stipendiis, "not by long service, but by triumphs."

Civile, against Cinna and Carbo; *Africanum*, against Domitius and Hiarla; *Transalpinum*, in making his way through Gaul to Spain; *Hispaniense*, against Sertorius—a "mixed war," waged against a combination of "*settled states*" and "*warlike barbarian tribes*;" *servile*, against Spartacus; *navale*, against the pirates. For all, cf. inf. § 30.

in usu, "experience."

XI. § 29. After his "professional experience and knowledge" comes his "high moral character"—in that *widest* sense of "*morality*," in reference to which an army is spoken of as "*demoralized*;" i.e. covering *virtutes imperatoriæ* as well as the virtues of "personal purity and honour."

neque enim, &c.: solæ is in the *predicate*, "those virtues, which are commonly considered the virtues of a commander, are not the only virtues which he needs." Here he breaks off, and launches into an eulogy on Pompey for his possession of these "commonly considered virtues," and does not proceed to the *other* necessary virtues till § 36.

labor in negotiis, "close attention to affairs;" *industria in agendo*, "thoughtful energy in action;" *celeritas in conficiendo*, "rapidity in execution."

in hoc uno...omnibus: one of the commonest antitheses in Cicero as in other Latin writers. Cf. "magis omnibus unum;" and inf. § 31, "Hoc tantum," &c.

explicavit: Cicero used this on purpose rather than the commoner *explicuit*, to give a better *rhythm*.

Pompey's merits on these different occasions are not estimated by historians at the same value as by Cicero.

§ 31. *referto prædonum:* with *persons* the gen., with *things* the abl. follows *refertus.*

XII. § 32. *proprium,* "the distinguishing characteristic;" or, perhaps, rather i.q. § 48, "proprium ac perpetuum."

sociis ego nostris, &c.: little is recorded in confirmation of the particular examples here given, e.g. the capture of the ambassadors, of the consul, &c.

§ 33. *eos portus, &c.,* Caieta, Misenum, Ostia, through which came *corn* from Sardinia, Sicily, and Africa.

celeberrimum, "most crowded."

quum...oppressa est. This sentence does not contain an *antithesis,* like *sociis...dicam, quum transmiserint?* et seqq., but only the account of *Ostiense incommodum; else it would have been "sit."*

præpositus esset expresses not merely the *fact,* but "and *what was more* shameful, a fleet commanded by a consul."

§ 35. *ut Brundisio, &c.,* "on the forty-ninth day *from* his departure."

idem Cretensibus, &c., whom Metellus (Creticus) subdued: Pompey gained no credit by this, but here, as everywhere through the speech, Cicero works upon the ignorance of the people. Cf. inf. § 46.

extremâ hieme; not = *summâ,* but "at the very end."

XIII. § 36. *cœperam:* vide § 29.

artes, "qualities," "moral habits:" often almost "character."

innocentiâ, "purity" (from "corruption," "oppression," &c.); *facilitate,* "courtesy," "affability." Cf. § 41, "ita *faciles aditus* ad eum privatorum," &c.

§ 37. *ullo in numero,* "what commander can we hold

in any account?" Others read *aliquo*, which is very hard: perhaps it may be best to take *aliquo in numero*, *not* (as *ullo in numero* is) in close connection with the predicative verb *putare*, but to attach it as an attributive adj. phrase to *imperatorem*,—"whom can we consider a commander worthy of the name?" &c. We might say, "Imperator si non bonus at certe aliquo in numero putandus est," in the *oratio directa;* and "imperator aliquo in numero" has to be kept together as *one substantive* in this sense if it is to be used here at all, else *aliquo* is impossible. The difficulty is much the same as if we found a relative clause with the verb in indicative mood in the middle of an *indirect* passage.

cujus, &c.: the *person* alluded to here is uncertain. Some think that "neque enim potest exercitum is continere imperator," &c. (inf. § 38), points to *Lucullus;* others refer all, with greater likelihood, to M'. Acilius Glabrio.

propter cupiditatem provinciæ, i.e. of *keeping* the province beyond the legal time; *magistratibus,* such as would be able to manage such a "job" either in the *senate* or before the *plebs.*

Romæ in quæstu, i.e. with the *bankers.*

severus, not "severe," "harsh," but "strict," "impartially just."

§ 39. *ut non modo...sed ne...quidem:* here *non modo* is for *non modo non:* this can only happen where it is followed by *ne—quidem,* and *both* are attached to the same verb. "Not the mark of their *foot,* much less of their *hand.*"

hiemis...avaritiæ, "a refuge *from* winter..*for* the gratification of greed."

XIV. § 40. *non nobilitas urbis ad cognitionem;* "to visit it:" from *cognoscere,* "to *examine.*"

§ 41. *quod jam...videbatur*, "which was now come to be thought."

nunc imperii vestri splendor ... lucem, &c.; cf. § 33, "unius...virtus...lucem afferre Romani populi potuit." The *feeling* of the antithesis is obvious: "the *brilliancy* of Roman glory brings no *light* or *heat* or *comfort* to us who lie under '*the cold shade*' of its oppression."

XV. § 43. *auctoritas*, "weight," "a respected name." The opposite party did not deny this to Pompey: what they dreaded was lest it should be enhanced and fixed into absolute supremacy by the proposed law.

§ 44. By the *Lex Gabinia*, for the pirate-war.

ut plura non dicam is different from *ne plura dicam*: the latter means "not to say more," (*lest you should think me exaggerating, and on this account take offence,*) the former means "not to say more," (*as one instance will suffice, though there is much more which, if I had the will or the time, I might say*).

rerum egregiarum, "remarkable:" *egregius*, lit. "*out of the common.*"

§ 45. *non haberet*: note the change of tense, to mark something continuing—"was no longer under."

ad ipsum discrimen, "at the most critical moment."

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potissimum, "by preference:" so, generally.

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sicut æquum est; this depends on *timide.*

de potestate deorum, "of what is theirs to give and to take away."

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ad amplitudinem ... adjuncta; cf. § 50, "ad ceteras utilitates...adjungatur." *Amplitudo* refers more to "high position" supported by "influence and resources;" *gloria* to "wide celebrity."

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proprium ac perpetuum sit; cf. sup. § 32; and Virg. Ecl. VII. 31.

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The opposition to the appointment of Gabinius rested on the law which declared that no one who had moved for any special commission should be allowed himself to share in the commission.

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diligentes, "exact," "scrupulous."

cujusquam inimicum edictum, i.e. of the Consul.

vestrum jus, &c.: the meaning of this has been much disputed; the most probable interpretation seems to be to refer it to Cicero's own office, the *rights* of which the people have by *their free grace* entrusted to him, and will be maintained by him unimpaired. (Cf. § 69, "hoc beneficio populi Romani atque hac potestate prætoria.") It conveys thus a compliment to the people, which is enhanced by "neque præter *intercessionem*," &c. The same tone of flattery runs through the whole speech.

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si quid eo factum esset = εἴ τι γένοιτο, "should any-

"*before his condemnation*" of a detected and punished criminal.

§ 26. *qui tamen*, "who even at that point;" this is almost the literal sense of *tamen*, which is an old case of the pronominal root = ὁ, ἡ, τό, whence *tum*, *tam*.

sed ea, *&c.*, i.e. *quæ prætereo*: *perspicite* has two objects in loose apposition, *ea—quantum*.

factum, "how great you must consider it to have grown by the union," &c.

X. § 27. He now takes up the third and last head, "de imperatore deligendo."

quare esset, not *sit*, because referring to the part of his speech which was *past* (*fecisse*), and what it *had been designed* to prove.

innocentium; cf. § 13, ad fin.

præficiendum putaretis: this introduction of verbs of *thinking* is much in Cicero's manner. Cf. sup., "dicendum *esse videatur*;" and § 26, "perspicite, quantum ...putetis;" and *passim*.

§ 28. *esse debuit*, "had a right to be." The Latin idiom keeps the present infin. of the subst. verb when joined with *debere*, and marks all changes by the tense of the latter; e.g. *debet esse*, *debebit esse*, *debuit esse*, not *debet fuisse*, *&c.* So with *oportere* and *posse*, and like verbs.

e ludo, *&c.*, "from school and from his boyish exercises to his father's camp and the exercises of active service." Note the *alliteration* in *pueritiæ* and *militiæ*, *&c.* Cicero is fond of such tricks of sound.

qui extremâ pueritiâ; not "in *extreme* boyhood," but "*before he was out of his boyhood.*"

summi imperatoris: his own father. *Maximi ipse*, *&c.*, that which he brought to Sulla.

non stipendiis, "not by long service, but by triumphs."

Civile, against Cinna and Carbo; *Africanum,* against Domitius and Hiarla; *Transalpinum,* in making his way through Gaul to Spain; *Hispaniense,* against Sertorius—a "mixed war," waged against a combination of "*settled states*" and "*warlike barbarian tribes;*" *servile,* against Spartacus; *navale,* against the pirates. For all, cf. inf. § 30.

in usu, "experience."

XI. § 29. After his "professional experience and knowledge" comes his "high moral character"—in that *widest* sense of "*morality,*" in reference to which an army is spoken of as "*demoralized;*" i.e. covering *virtutes imperatoriæ* as well as the virtues of "personal purity and honour."

neque enim, &c.: solæ is in the *predicate,* "those virtues, which are commonly considered the virtues of a commander, are not the only virtues which he needs." Here he breaks off, and launches into an eulogy on Pompey for his possession of these "commonly considered virtues," and does not proceed to the *other* necessary virtues till § 36.

labor in negotiis, "close attention to affairs;" *industria in agendo,* "thoughtful energy in action;" *celeritas in conficiendo,* "rapidity in execution."

in hoc uno...omnibus: one of the commonest antitheses in Cicero as in other Latin writers. Cf. "magis omnibus unum;" and inf. § 31, "Hoc tantum," &c.

explicavit: Cicero used this on purpose rather than the commoner *explicuit,* to give a better *rhythm.*

Pompey's merits on these different occasions are not estimated by historians at the same value as by Cicero.

§ 31. *referto prædonum:* with *persons* the gen., with *things* the abl. follows *refertus.*

XII. § 32. *proprium*, "the distinguishing characteristic;" or, perhaps, rather i.q. § 48, "proprium ac perpetuum."

sociis ego nostris, &c.: little is recorded in confirmation of the particular examples here given, e.g. the capture of the ambassadors, of the consul, &c.

§ 33. *eos portus, &c.*, Caieta, Misenum, Ostia, through which came *corn* from Sardinia, Sicily, and Africa.

celeberrimum, "most crowded."

quum...oppressa est. This sentence does not contain an *antithesis*, like *sociis...dicam, quum transmiserint?* et seqq., but only the account of *Ostiense incommodum; else it would have been "sit."*

præpositus esset expresses not merely the *fact*, but "and *what was more* shameful, a fleet commanded by a consul."

§ 35. *ut Brundisio, &c.*, "on the forty-ninth day *from* his departure."

idem Cretensibus, &c., whom Metellus (Creticus) subdued: Pompey gained no credit by this, but here, as everywhere through the speech, Cicero works upon the ignorance of the people. Cf. inf. § 46.

extremâ hieme; not = *summâ*, but "at the very end."

XIII. § 36. *cœperam:* vide § 29.

artes, "qualities," "moral habits:" often almost "character."

innocentiâ, "purity" (from "corruption," "oppression," &c.); *facilitate*, "courtesy," "affability." Cf. § 41, "ita *faciles aditus* ad eum privatorum," &c.

§ 37. *ullo in numero*, "what commander can we hold

in any account?" Others read *aliquo*, which is very hard: perhaps it may be best to take *aliquo in numero*, *not* (as *ullo in numero* is) in close connection with the predicative verb *putare*, but to attach it as an attributive adj. phrase to *imperatorem*,—"whom can we consider a commander worthy of the name?" &c. We might say, "Imperator si non bonus at certe aliquo in numero putandus est," in the *oratio directa;* and "imperator aliquo in numero" has to be kept together as *one substantive* in this sense if it is to be used here at all, else *aliquo* is impossible. The difficulty is much the same as if we found a relative clause with the verb in indicative mood in the middle of an *indirect* passage.

cujus, &c.: the *person* alluded to here is uncertain. Some think that "neque enim potest exercitum is continere imperator," &c. (inf. § 38), points to *Lucullus;* others refer all, with greater likelihood, to M'. Acilius Glabrio.

propter cupiditatem provinciæ, i.e. of *keeping* the province beyond the legal time; *magistratibus*, such as would be able to manage such a "job" either in the *senate* or before the *plebs*.

Romæ in quæstu, i.e. with the *bankers*.

severus, not "severe," "harsh," but "strict," "impartially just."

§ 39. *ut non modo...sed ne...quidem:* here *non modo* is for *non modo non:* this can only happen where it is followed by *ne—quidem*, and *both* are attached to the same verb. "Not the mark of their *foot*, much less of their *hand*."

hiemis...avaritiæ, "a refuge *from* winter..*for* the gratification of greed."

XIV. § 40. *non nobilitas urbis ad cognitionem;* "to visit it:" from *cognoscere*, "to *examine*."

§ 41. *quod jam...videbatur,* "which was now come to be thought."

nunc imperii vestri splendor ... lucem, &c.; cf. § 33, "unius...virtus...lucem afferre Romani populi potuit." The *feeling* of the antithesis is obvious: "the *brilliancy* of Roman glory brings no *light* or *heat* or *comfort* to us who lie under '*the cold shade*' of its oppression."

XV. § 43. *auctoritas,* "weight," "a respected name." The opposite party did not deny this to Pompey: what they dreaded was lest it should be enhanced and fixed into absolute supremacy by the proposed law.

§ 44. By the *Lex Gabinia,* for the pirate-war.

ut plura non dicam is different from *ne plura dicam:* the latter means "not to say more," (*lest you should think me exaggerating, and on this account take offence,*) the former means "not to say more," (*as one instance will suffice, though there is much more which, if I had the will or the time, I might say*).

rerum egregiarum, "remarkable:" *egregius,* lit. "*out of the common.*"

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thing happen to him;" a euphemism. For *eo*, cf. "quid facies hoc homine?"

sed in hoc ipso, &c., "but *taking* the very case that he puts, I most strongly disagree with him: the more uncertain man's life is, the more should the State seek to profit by a great man, while it has him."

§ 60. *At enim ne quid, &c.*, "but, it is said, let us do nothing," &c.

XXI. § 61. *adolescentulum, &c.*: he was aged twenty-three.

a senatorio gradu: this is disputed; it was from twenty-seven to thirty.

equitem triumphare: this was B.C. 80. By law no one could "triumph" who had not been at least *prætor*. Pompey had held no magistracy.

§ 62. *pro consule:* also in one word "proconsul;" so *pro prætore*, "proprætor," &c. As an *official* title it generally belonged to the ex-consuls who went out to govern a province with consular power after their year of office was out.

non nemo, like our phrase "there were *not wanting* senators:" the person, or persons, (for it is not necessarily *singular*, cf. Pro Mur. xxxix. § 84,) are known though not named.

per leges comes after *licuisset*. Cf. sup., § 59, "dum per deos immortales licet." By *law* no one could be *consul* till he was forty-two years of age, no one could be *ædile* (the *first* of the curule magistracies) till he was thirty-six; Pompey at this time was only thirty-five. The Senate was open by Sulla's law to *quæstorians;* Pompey had not yet been *quæstor* and is therefore called *eques*.

§ 64. *temere*, "unadvisedly," "unwisely."

cupidorum, "greedy;" cf. inf. § 67, "quâ cupiditate homines in provincias," &c. This point had been handled before, § 13; and some have supposed that all from "Atque in hoc bello" down to § 68, "Quod si auctoritatibus," &c., is an interpolation. This is hardly likely.

§ 66. *Noverunt*, "they *know*;" *noscere*, "to come to know," "to recognise."

hostium simulatione, "with the enemy as a pretext."

animos ac spiritus, &c., "can satisfy the exacting temper, I do not say of a general, but of a single tribune of the soldiers." *Capere* is the Gr. χωρεῖν, "to contain."

XXIII. *nisi erit idem, qui se, &c.*, "you may *consider* him able to defeat the king's armies in a pitched battle, but unless you *are sure* that he will likewise be able to restrain himself," &c.: *se* is amplified below by *manus, &c.*

§ 67. *Ecquam, &c.*; cf. § 66. *Ecquis*, like *numquis*, often expects a *negative* answer.

videbat, &c.: the old reading was, *videbat enim populum Romanum non locupletari quotannis pecuniâ publicâ præter paucos, neque nos quidquam aliud, &c.*; "For the people of the coast saw that the Roman people was not enriched year by year with the money which was exacted from themselves, and that all the good we had of our fleets was that they covered us with shame." But this is hard, and the tone of the passage is rather that the "public money" voted for fleets went to enrich the corrupt prætors, who (*with few exceptions*) embezzled it, and brought in no return for it but loss and shame to Rome.

quibus jacturis et *quibus conditionibus*, "what sacrifices are made, what engagements are entered into." Cf. § 38.

videlicet . . . Quasi vero: this ironical use of *videlicet* with a *serious* correction following it is common in Cicero.

§ 68. *auctoritatibus;* cf. § 51.

P. Servilius, surnamed *Isauricus*, reduced the Isauri in Cilicia, B.C. 79. *C. Scribonius Curio* triumphed, B.C. 76, over the Thracians and Macedonians. *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* was Pompey's *legatus* in the pirate-war.

pro amplissimis vestris honoribus: we should almost say, "*by* the honours which you have conferred on him you have acknowledged." *Pro*, "as is evinced by."

cognovistis, "have acknowledged," "marked your consideration of."

XXIV. § 69. *vim aut minas;* cf. § 58, "neque me impediet cujusquam inimicum edictum;" and § 57, "consilio ipsius atque *periculo*."

animi, "spirit," "courage."

in eodem, &c.; cf. § 63, "in hoc homine," &c.: al. leg., "*non* iterum...vidimus," but this is hardly Latin.

hoc beneficio, &c.; cf. § 58, "vestrum jus beneficiumque;" and inf. § 71, "hoc honore præditum, tantis vestris beneficiis affectum."

§ 70. *huic loco temploque:* i.e. the *Rostra*. Cf. "in Rostris, in illo, inquam, inaugurato *templo ac loco*," Cic. Vatin. x. § 24.

neque quo. This is a different use of *quo* from that with an adjective or adverb in the comparative. *Non quo* means "not because," "not as if," "not in the hope of," and is often followed by a *positive* clause headed by *quia*, giving the admitted reason.

ut hominem præstare oportet, "so far as a man may presume to speak confidently:" *ut* depends closely on *facile*. For *præstare*, cf. § 47, "de felicitate, quam præstare de se ipso nemo potest;" and Dem. de Corona, § 311, *θεωρήσατε ὅσῳ ἀνθρωπινώτερον ἐγὼ περὶ τῆς τύχης τούτου διαλεχθήσομαι.*

innocentiâ tecti, "political *purity*;" i.e. freedom from *corruption* and *extortion*.

§ 71. *tantumque abest, ut...ut*. The former *ut* goes with *abest*, the latter with *tantum*.

quæsisse, "to have *gained*;" cf. *quæstus*.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

PRO

A. LICINIO ARCHIA POETA

ORATIO.

NOTITIA LITTERARIA.

A. Licinius Archias quum Catulo et Mario coss. (A. U. 652.) *Romam veniret, Cicero puer adhuc quadrimus eo tempore erat; postea poetæ operam dedit. Orationem habuit* A. U. 693. *M. Pupio Pisone et M. Valerio Messalla coss.*

ARG. *A. Licinius Archias* se studiis poeticis dedidit, et adprime, ut videbatur, excelluit in hoc genere litterarum. Amicitia igitur etiam viris illustribus familiariter copulatus est, ut ipse M. Tullius in orationis hujus narratione *confirmat. Interim satis longo intervallo quum esset cum L. Lucullo in Siciliam profectus, et quum ex ea provincia cum eodem L. Lucullo regrederetur,* Heracleam venit, quæ tunc erat civitas fœderata, et ascriptus est in ordinem Heracleensium civis. Tunc Silanus et Carbo coss. legem tulerunt, ut omnes, qui essent ex fœderatis populis, civitatem Romanam consequerentur: si modo illo tempore, quo lex lata esset, domicilium in Italia haberent, et intra diem sexagesimum professi apud prætorem fuissent. Quæ quum Licinio Archiæ ad obtinendum jus civitatis Romanæ argumenta deessent, quoniam neque tabulis Heracleensium probare poterat ascriptum se in ordinem civium; quippe tabularium civitatis illius exar-

serat bello sociali, nec bona sua in censum detulerat: reus factus *est* lege Papia, quæ lata fuerat ad eos coercendos, qui temere et illicite civitatem Romanam usurpassent. Fit ergo quasi conjecturalis, an ascriptus sit in ordinem Heracleensium, et an fecerit omnia, quæ is facere debuerit, qui esset e numero fœderatorum. Et deficitur quidem multis probationibus; testimonio tamen Heracleensium et vel maxime, quibus tota occupatur oratio, poeticæ facultatis et doctrinæ jucundissimæ gratia nititur. Est etiam, omissa conjectura, disceptatio per ipsam qualitatem personæ, *ut* civis Romanus debeat adoptari, etiamsi in præteritum non sit associatus.

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1 I. Si quid est in me ingenii, judices, quod sentio quam sit exiguum, aut si qua exercitatio dicendi, in qua me non infitior mediocriter esse versatum, aut si hujusce rei ratio aliqua, ab optimarum artium studiis ac disciplina profecta, a qua ego nullum confiteor ætatis meæ tempus abhorruisse, earum rerum omnium vel in primis hic A. Licinius fructum a me repetere prope suo jure debet. Nam quoad longissime potest mens mea respicere spatium præteriti temporis et pueritiæ memoriam recordari ultimam, inde usque repetens hunc video mihi principem et ad suscipiendam et ad ingrediendam rationem horum studiorum exstitisse. Quod si hæc vox, hujus hortatu præceptisque conformata, nonnullis aliquando saluti fuit, a quo id accepimus, quo ceteris opitulari et alios servare possemus, huic profecto ipsi, quantum est situm
2 in nobis, et opem et salutem ferre debemus. Ac ne quis a nobis hoc ita dici forte miretur, quod alia quædam in hoc facultas sit ingenii, neque hæc dicendi ratio aut disciplina, ne nos quidem huic uni studio penitus umquam dediti fuimus. Etenim omnes artes,

quæ ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum, et quasi cognatione quadam inter se continentur. II. Sed ne cui vestrum mirum esse 3
videatur, me in quæstione legitima et in judicio publico, quum res agatur apud prætorem populi Romani, lectissimum virum, et apud severissimos judices, tanto conventu hominum ac frequentia, hoc uti genere dicendi, quod non modo a consuetudine judiciorum, verum etiam a forensi sermone abhorreat, quæso a vobis, ut in hac causa mihi detis hanc veniam, accommodatam huic reo, vobis, quemadmodum spero, non molestam, ut me, pro summo poeta atque eruditissimo homine dicentem, hoc concursu hominum litteratissimorum, hac vestra humanitate, hoc denique prætore exercente judicium, patiamini de studiis humanitatis ac litterarum paullo loqui liberius, et in ejusmodi persona, quæ, propter otium ac studium, minime in judiciis periculisque tractata est, uti prope novo quodam et inusitato genere dicendi. Quod si 4
mihi a vobis tribui concedique sentiam, perficiam profecto, ut hunc A. Licinium non modo non segregandum, quum sit civis, a numero civium, verum etiam, si non esset, putetis asciscendum fuisse.

III. Nam ut primum ex pueris excessit Archias, atque ab iis artibus, quibus ætas puerilis ad humanitatem informari solet, se ad scribendi studium contulit: primum Antiochiæ (nam ibi natus est, loco nobili, celebri quondam urbe et copiosa atque eruditissimis hominibus liberalissimisque studiis affluenti,) celeriter ei antecellere omnibus ingenii gloria contigit. Post in ceteris Asiæ partibus cunctaque Græcia sic ejus adventus celebrabantur, ut famam ingenii exspectatio hominis, exspectationem ipsius adventus admiratio-

5 que superaret. Erat Italia tunc plena Græcarum
artium ac disciplinarum, studiaque hæc et in Latio
vehementius tum colebantur, quam nunc iisdem in
oppidis, et hic Romæ, propter tranquillitatem reipub-
licæ, non negligebantur. Itaque hunc et Tarentini
et Rhegini et Neapolitani civitate ceterisque præmiis
donarunt: et omnes, qui aliquid de ingeniis poterant
judicare, cognitione atque hospitio dignum existima-
runt. Hac tanta celebritate famæ quum esset jam ab-
sentibus notus, Romam venit, Mario consule et Catulo.
Nactus est primum consules eos, quorum alter res ad
scribendum maximas, alter quum res gestas, tum
etiam studium atque aures adhibere posset. Statim
Luculli, quum prætextatus etiam tum Archias esset,
eum domum suam receperunt. Jam hoc non solum
ingenii ac litterarum, verum etiam naturæ atque
virtutis, ut domus, quæ hujus adolescentiæ prima
6 fuerit, eadem esset familiarissima senectuti. Erat
temporibus illis jucundus Q. Metello illi Numidico
et ejus Pio filio; audiebatur a M. Æmilio; vivebat
cum Q. Catulo, et patre et filio; a L. Crasso colebatur:
Lucullos vero et Drusum et Octavios et Catonem et
totam Hortensiorum domum devinctam consuetudine
quum teneret, afficiebatur summo honore, quod eum
non solum colebant, qui aliquid percipere atque au-
dire studebant, verum etiam, si qui forte simulabant.
IV. Interim satis longo intervallo, quum esset cum L.
Lucullo in Siciliam profectus, et quum ex ea provin-
cia cum eodem Lucullo decederet, venit Heracleam.
Quæ quum esset civitas æquissimo jure ac fœdere,
ascribi se in eam civitatem voluit: idque, quum ipse
per se dignus putaretur, tum auctoritate et gratia Lu-
7 culli ab Heracleensibus impetravit. Data est civitas

Silvani lege et Carbonis, SI QUI FŒDERATIS CIVITATIBUS ASCRIPTI FUISSENT: SI TUM, QUUM LEX FEREBATUR, IN ITALIA DOMICILIUM HABUISSENT: et, SI SEXAGINTA DIEBUS APUD PRÆTOREM ESSENT PROFESSI. Quum hic domicilium Romæ multos jam annos haberet, professus est apud prætorem, Q. Metellum, familiarissimum suum. Si nihil aliud, nisi de 8
civitate ac lege, dicimus, nihil dico amplius: causa dicta est. Quid enim horum infirmari, Grati, potest? Heracleæne esse tum ascriptum negabis? Adest vir summa auctoritate et religione et fide, L. Lucullus, qui se non opinari, sed scire; non audivisse, sed vidisse; non interfuisse, sed egisse dicit. Adsunt Heracleenses legati, nobilissimi homines: hujus judicii causa cum mandatis et cum publico testimonio venerunt; qui hunc ascriptum Heracleensem dicunt. Hic tu tabulas desideras Heracleensium publicas, quas Italico bello, incenso tabulario, interisse scimus omnes. Est ridiculum ad ea, quæ habemus, nihil dicere; quærere, quæ habere non possumus; et de hominum memoria tacere, litterarum memoriam flagitare; et, quum habeas amplissimi viri religionem, integerrimi municipii jusjurandum fidemque, ea, quæ depravari nullo modo possunt, repudiare; tabulas, quas idem dicis solere corrumpi, desiderare. At 9
domicilium in Italia non habuit is, qui tot annis ante civitatem datam sedem omnium rerum ac fortunarum suarum Romæ collocavit? An non est professus? Immo vero iis tabulis professus, quæ solæ ex illa professione collegioque prætorum obtinent publicarum tabularum auctoritatem. V. Nam quum Appii tabulæ negligentius asservatæ dicerentur, Gabinii, quamdiu incolumis fuit, levitas, post damnationem calamitas,

omnem tabularum fidem resignasset, Metellus, homo
sanctissimus modestissimusque omnium, tanta dili-
gentia fuit, ut ad L. Lentulum prætorem et ad judices
venerit et unius nominis litura se commotum esse dix-
erit. His igitur tabulis nullam lituram in nomine A.
10 Licinii videtis. Quæ quum ita sint, quid est, quod
de ejus civitate dubitetis, præsertim quum aliis quo-
que in civitatibus fuerit ascriptus? Etenim quum
mediocribus multis et aut nulla, aut humili aliqua arte
præditis gratuito civitatem in Græcia homines imper-
tiebantur, Rheginos credo aut Locrenses aut Neapo-
litanos aut Tarentinos, quod scenicis artificibus largiri
solebant, id huic, summa ingenii prædito gloria, no-
luisse! Quid? quum ceteri, non modo post civitatem
datam, sed etiam post legem Papiam, aliquo modo in
eorum municipiorum tabulas irrepserint, hic, qui ne
utitur quidem illis, in quibus est scriptus, quod sem-
11 per se Heracleensem esse voluit, rejicietur? Cen-
sus nostros requiris scilicet. Est enim obscurum,
proximis censoribus hunc cum clarissimo imperatore,
L. Lucullo, apud exercitum fuisse: superioribus, cum
eodem quæstore fuisse in Asia: primis, Julio et Crasso,
nullam populi partem esse censam. Sed, quoniam
census non jus civitatis confirmat, ac tantummodo in-
dicat, eum, qui sit census, ita se jam tum gessisse pro
cive, iis temporibus, quæ tu criminaris ne ipsius qui-
dem judicio eum in civium Romanorum jure esse ver-
satum, et testamentum sæpe fecit nostris legibus, et
adiit hereditates civium Romanorum, et in beneficiis
ad ærarium delatus est a L. Lucullo prætore et con-
sule. VI. Quære argumenta, si quæ potes; num-
quam enim hic neque suo, neque amicorum judicio
revincetur.

Quæres a nobis, Grati, cur tanto opere hoc homine 12
delectemur. Quia suppeditat nobis, ubi et animus ex hoc forensi strepitu reficiatur et aures convicio defessæ conquiescant. An tu existimas, aut suppetere nobis posse, quod quotidie dicamus, in tanta varietate rerum, nisi animos nostros doctrina excolamus, aut ferre animos tantam posse contentionem, nisi eos doctrina eadem relaxemus? Ego vero fateor, me his studiis esse deditum; ceteros pudeat, si qui ita se litteris abdiderunt, ut nihil possint ex his neque ad communem afferre fructum, neque in aspectum lucemque proferre. Me autem quid pudeat, qui tot annos ita vivo, judices, ut ab nullius umquam me tempore aut commodo aut otium meum abstraxerit aut voluptas avocarit aut denique somnus retardarit?
Quare quis tandem me reprehendat, aut quis mihi 13
jure succenseat, si, quantum ceteris ad suas res obeundas, quantum ad festos dies ludorum celebrandos, quantum ad alias voluptates, et ad ipsam requiem animi et corporis conceditur temporum; quantum alii tribuunt tempestivis conviviis, quantum denique alveolo, quantum pilæ, tantum mihi egomet ad hæc studia recolenda sumpsero? Atque hoc adeo mihi concedendum est magis, quod ex his studiis hæc quoque crescit oratio et facultas; quæ quantacumque in me est, numquam amicorum periculis defuit. Quæ si cui levior videtur, illa quidem certe, quæ summa
sunt, ex quo fonte hauriam, sentio. Nam nisi mul- 14
torum præceptis multisque litteris mihi ab adolescentia suasissem, nihil esse in vita magno opere expetendum, nisi laudem atque honestatem; in ea autem persequenda omnes cruciatus corporis, omnia pericula mortis atque exsilii parvi esse ducenda: numquam

me pro salute vestra in tot ac tantas dimicationes atque in hos profligatorum hominum quotidianos impetus objecissem. Sed pleni sunt omnes libri, plenæ sapientium voces, plena exemplorum vetustas; quæ jacerent in tenebris omnia, nisi litterarum lumen accederet. Quam multas nobis imagines non solum ad intuendum, verum etiam ad imitandum, fortissimorum virorum expressas, scriptores et Græci et Latini reliquerunt! Quas ego mihi semper in administranda republica proponens, animum et mentem meam ipsa cogitatione hominum excellentium conformabam.

15 VII. Quæret quispiam: quid? illi ipsi summi viri, quorum virtutes litteris proditæ sunt, istane doctrina, quam tu effers laudibus, eruditi fuerunt? Difficile est hoc de omnibus confirmare; sed tamen est certum, quid respondeam. Ego multos homines excellenti animo ac virtute fuisse, et sine doctrina naturæ ipsius habitu prope divino per seipsos et moderatos et graves exstitisse fateor. Etiam illud adjungo, sæpius ad laudem atque virtutem naturam sine doctrina, quam sine natura valuisse doctrinam. Atque idem ego contendo, quum ad naturam eximiam atque illustrem accesserit ratio quædam conformatioque doctrinæ, tum illud nescio quid præclarum ac
16 singulare solere exsistere. Ex hoc esse hunc numero, quem patres nostri viderunt, divinum hominem, Africanum; ex hoc C. Lælium, L. Furium, moderatissimos homines et continentissimos; ex hoc fortissimum virum et illis temporibus doctissimum, M. Catonem illum senem: qui profecto, si nihil ad percipiendam colendamque virtutem litteris adjuvarentur, numquam se ad earum studium contulissent. Quod si non hic tantus fructus ostenderetur, et si ex his stu-

diis delectatio sola peteretur, tamen, ut opinor, hanc animi adversionem humanissimam ac liberalissimam judicaretis. Nam ceteræ neque temporum sunt, neque ætatum omnium neque locorum; hæc studia adolescentiam agunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solatium præbent; delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.

Quod si ipsi hæc neque attingere neque sensu nostro 17
gustare possemus, tamen ea mirari deberemus, etiam quum in aliis videremus. VIII. Quis nostrum tam animo agresti ac duro fuit, ut Roscii morte nuper non commoveretur? qui quum esset senex mortuus, tamen propter excellentem artem ac venustatem videbatur omnino mori non debuisse. Ergo ille corporis motu tantum amorem sibi conciliarat a nobis omnibus, nos animorum incredibiles motus celeritatemque ingeniorum negligemus? Quoties ego hunc Archiam 18
vidi, judices, (utar enim vestra benignitate, quoniam me in hoc novo genere dicendi tam diligenter attenditis,) quoties ego hunc vidi, quum litteram scripsisset nullam, magnum numerum optimorum versuum de his ipsis rebus, quæ tum agerentur, dicere ex tempore! quoties revocatum eamdem rem dicere, commutatis verbis atque sententiis! Quæ vero accurate cogitateque scripsisset, ea sic vidi probari, ut ad veterum scriptorum laudem pervenirent. Hunc ego non diligam? non admirer? non omni ratione defendendum putem? Atqui sic a summis hominibus eruditissimisque accepimus, ceterarum rerum studia et doctrina et præceptis et arte constare, poetam natura ipsa valere et mentis viribus excitari et quasi divino quodam spiritu inflari. Quare suo jure noster ille

Ennius sanctos appellat poetas, quod quasi deorum aliquo dono atque munere commendati nobis esse
19 videantur. Sit igitur, judices, sanctum apud vos, humanissimos homines, hoc poetæ nomen, quod nulla umquam barbaria violavit. Saxa et solitudines voci respondent, bestiæ sæpe immanes cantu flectuntur atque consistunt, nos, instituti rebus optimis, non poetarum voce moveamur? Homerum Colophonii civem esse dicunt suum, Chii suum vindicant, Salaminii repetunt, Smyrnæi vero suum esse confirmant: itaque etiam delubrum ejus in oppido dedicaverunt: permulti alii præterea pugnant inter se atque contendunt. IX. Ergo illi alienum, quia poeta fuit, post mortem etiam expetunt, nos hunc vivum, qui et voluntate et legibus noster est, repudiamus? præsertim quum omne olim studium atque omne ingenium contulerit Archias ad populi Romani gloriam laudemque celebrandam? Nam et Cimbricas res adolescens attigit, et ipsi illi C. Mario, qui durior ad hæc studia
20 videbatur, jucundus fuit. Neque enim quisquam est tam aversus a Musis, qui non mandari versibus æternum suorum laborum facile præconium patiatur. Themistoclem illum, summum Athenis virum, dixisse aiunt, quum ex eo quæreretur, *quod acroama aut cujus vocem libentissime audiret:—ejus, a quo sua virtus optime prædicaretur*. Itaque ille Marius item eximie L. Plotium dilexit, cujus ingenio putabat ea, quæ
21 gesserat, posse celebrari. Mithridaticum vero bellum, magnum atque difficile et in multa varietate terra marique versatum, totum ab hoc expressum est: qui libri non modo L. Lucullum, fortissimum et clarissimum virum, verum etiam populi Romani nomen illustrant. Populus enim Romanus aperuit, Lucullo

imperante, Pontum, et regiis quondam opibus et ipsa natura regionis vallatum: populi Romani exercitus, eodem duce, non maxima manu innumerabiles Armeniorum copias fudit: populi Romani laus est, urbem amicissimam Cyzicenorum ejusdem consilio ex omni impetu regio ac totius belli ore ac faucibus ereptam esse atque servatam: nostra semper feretur et prædicabitur, L. Lucullo dimicante, cum interfectis ducibus depressa hostium classis, et incredibilis apud Tenedum pugna illa navalis: nostra sunt tropæa, nostra monumenta, nostri triumphi. Quare, quorum ingeniis hæc feruntur, ab iis populi Romani fama celebratur. Carus fuit Africano superiori noster Ennius: 22
itaque etiam in sepulcro Scipionum putatur is esse constitutus e marmore. At iis laudibus certe non solum ipsi, qui laudantur, sed etiam populi Romani nomen ornatur. In cælum hujus proavus Cato tollitur: magnus honos populi Romani rebus adjungitur. Omnes denique illi Maximi, Marcelli, Fulvii non sine communi omnium nostrum laude decorantur. X. Ergo illum, qui hæc fecerat, Rudinum hominem, majores nostri in civitatem receperunt, nos hunc Heracleensem, multis civitatibus expetitum, in hac autem legibus constitutum, de nostra civitate ejiciemus?

Nam si quis minorem gloriæ fructum putat ex 23
Græcis versibus percipi, quam ex Latinis, vehementer errat, propterea quod Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, Latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur. Quare si res eæ, quas gessimus, orbis terræ regionibus definiuntur, cupere debemus, quo manuum nostrarum tela pervenerint, eodem gloriam famamque penetrare, quod quum ipsis populis, de quorum rebus scribitur, hæc ampla sunt, tum iis certe, qui de vita gloriæ

causa dimicant, hoc maximum et periculorum inci-
24 tamentum est et laborum. Quam multos scriptores rerum suarum magnus ille Alexander secum habuisse dicitur! Atque is tamen, quum in Sigeo ad Achillis tumulum astitisset, *O fortunate*, inquit, *adolescens, qui tuæ virtutis Homerum præconem inveneris!* Et vere. Nam, nisi Ilias illa exstitisset, idem tumulus, qui corpus ejus contexerat, nomen etiam obruisset. Quid? noster hic Magnus, qui cum virtute fortunam adæquavit, nonne Theophanem Mitylenæum, scriptorem rerum suarum, in concione militum civitate donavit? et nostri illi fortes viri, sed rustici ac milites, dulcedine quadam gloriæ commoti, quasi participes ejusdem laudis, magno illud clamore approbaverunt?
25 Itaque, credo, si civis Romanus Archias legibus non esset, ut ab aliquo imperatore civitate donaretur, perficere non potuit. Sulla, quum Hispanos et Gallos donaret, credo, hunc petentem repudiasset; quem nos in concione vidimus, quum ei libellum malus poeta de populo subjecisset, quod epigramma in eum fecisset tantummodo alternis versibus longiusculis, statim ex iis rebus, quas tunc vendebat, jussit ei præmium tribui sub ea conditione, *ne quid post ea scriberet.* Qui sedulitatem mali poetæ duxerit aliquo tamen præmio dignam, hujus ingenium et virtutem
26 in scribendo et copiam non expetisset? Quid? a Q. Metello Pio, familiarissimo suo, qui civitate multos donavit, neque per se, neque per Lucullos impetravisset? qui præsertim usque eo de suis rebus scribi cuperet, ut etiam Cordubæ natis poetis, pingue quiddam sonantibus atque peregrinum, tamen aures suas dederet. XI. Neque enim est hoc dissimulandum, quod obscurari non potest, sed præ nobis ferendum,

trahimur omnes laudis studio, et optimus quisque
maxime gloria ducitur. Ipsi illi philosophi etiam
illis libellis, quos de contemnenda gloria scribunt,
nomen suum inscribunt: in eo ipso, in quo præ-
dicationem nobilitatemque despiciunt, prædicari de
se ac nominari volunt. Decimus quidem Brutus, 27
summus ille vir et imperator, Accii, amicissimi sui,
carminibus templorum ac monumentorum aditus
exornavit suorum. Jam vero ille, qui cum Ætolis,
Ennio comite, bellavit, Fulvius, non dubitavit Martis
manubias Musis consecrare. Quare, in qua urbe im-
peratores prope armati poetarum nomen et Musarum
delubra coluerunt, in ea non debent togati judices
a Musarum honore et a poetarum salute abhorrere.

Atque, ut id libentius faciatis, jam me vobis, 28
judices, indicabo, et de meo quodam amore gloriæ,
nimis acri fortasse, verumtamen honesto, vobis con-
fitebor. Nam, quas res nos in consulatu nostro vobis-
cum simul pro salute hujus urbis atque imperii et
pro vita civium proque universa republica gessimus,
attigit hic versibus atque inchoavit: quibus auditis,
quod mihi magna res et jucunda visa est, hunc ad per-
ficiendum hortatus sum. Nullam enim virtus aliam
mercedem laborum periculorumque desiderat, præter
hanc laudis et gloriæ; qua quidem detracta, judices,
quid est, quod in hoc tam exiguo vitæ curriculo et
tam brevi tantis nos in laboribus exerceamus? Certe, 29
si nihil animus præsentiret in posterum, et si, quibus
regionibus vitæ spatium circumscriptum est, eisdem
omnes cogitationes terminaret suas, nec tantis se
laboribus frangeret, neque tot curis vigiliisque an-
geretur, neque toties de vita ipsa dimicaret. Nunc
insidet quædam in optimo quoque virtus, quæ noc-

INTRODUCTION.

This Oration was spoken B.C. 62. Its object was to defend A. Licinius Archias against the charge of having usurped the privileges of citizenship without being a citizen. The prosecution was conducted by some one whom Cicero calls Gratius, (§ 12,) but who he was or what were his motives is unknown. The law under which the trial took place was the *Lex Papia.*

Cicero's statement in defence is, that Archias was made a citizen of Heraclea, a state enjoying a most favourable treaty with Rome, and that when the *Lex Plautia et Papiria,* B.C. 89, gave the citizenship of Rome to all citizens of the *civitates fœderatæ* who should have their abode in Italy at the time of the passing of the law, and should give in their names within sixty days to the prætor, Archias gave in his name to Q. Metellus Pius, (§ 6 and § 7). He could not prove his enrolment at Heraclea by the town-registers, because these were burnt in the Italian war, (§ 8): but a deputation from Heraclea appeared and gave evidence that he had been enrolled, and M. Lucullus declared that he had himself carried the act through, (ibid.) The connection of the Luculli with Archias' civil rights was shewn by his adopting their Gentile name 'Licinius.' A second public certificate was wanting—entry in the censor's books: but this was explained by the fact that the census had been taken at irregular intervals, and that

Archias had been much away from Rome. In B.C. 86 and B.C. 70, when the census was taken, Archias was with L. Lucullus in Asia; and while he was in Rome, during the interval, there was no census. He had, however, opportunities of acting as a citizen by making his will according to Roman law, by entering on bequests, and by his name being sent in to the treasury by L. Lucullus *in beneficiis*, (§ 11). This concluded the legal question; the rest of the speech is an eulogy of Archias' poetical powers, and of the study of philosophy.

Of Archias nothing is known beyond what Cicero tells us in this Oration.

NOTES TO PRO A. LICINIO ARCHIA POETA ORATIO.

I. § 1. The order is to be observed; *ingenium*, *exercitatio dicendi*, and *ratio*, "natural ability," "practice in speaking," "knowledge of the principles of oratory;" and the gradation of the epithets he applies to each,—*exiguum*, *mediocris*, *a quâ...abhorruisse*.

hujusce rei, i.e. "oratory."

artium, "studies;" cf. inf. § 4, "ab iis artibus," &c.

hic, like ὅδε or ὁδί, "my client."

suscipiendam, "taking up;" *ingrediendam*, "advancing in."

ceteris, *alios*, both opposed to *huic ipsi*, but *ceteris* means "to *every one* else," *alios* "others," not "all:" Cicero could say that he had *helped* every one (*opitulari*), though not *saved* every one.

profecto, "surely to this man himself."

§ 2. *humanitatem*, "high culture."

II. § 3. *quæstione legitimâ*, "a judicial inquiry under a law," viz. the *Lex Papia*.

prætorem, said to be Q. Cicero, brother of the orator.

severissimos: generally in Cicero *severus* means "rigorously just," here perhaps it is rather opposed to "trifling," *dilettante*.

tractata est: the more usual word with Cicero is *versari*, and Halm thinks that the expression is varied to excite a feeling against the prosecutor, as if it were "dragged,"

"roughly handled:" this is probably too strong. He elsewhere (Pro Roscio, § 20) uses the expression "tractare personam in scenâ;" and here the meaning may be, "when I have a character to deal with, which from its love of retirement and study has hardly at all been represented amidst the dangers of law courts."

§ 4. *profecto*, "I am sure that I shall."

segregandum, without *esse*, as is usual after *puto* and like verbs, except when past time is to be expressed, as below, *asciscendum fuisse*. But cf. note on L. Manil., § 1.

III. *ex pueris excessit*, in Greek, ἐκ παιδῶν ἐξῆλθεν. 'Archias' used of his boyhood; in the sentence previous 'A. Licinius' used of him as a citizen.

artibus, "studies."

primum: this is answered by *post*.

loco nobili, "in a noble station."

Antiochæ...urbe: this anomalous apposition is explained by the fact that the two forms are really the representatives of the same case, the vocative, and not the gen. of the first or the abl. of the third decl. In the first and second decl. *-aïm* and *-oïm* by the dropping of *m* were assimilated to the gen. in *-æ* and *-i*—*Antiochiaim*, *domoim*, to *Antiochiæ*, *domi*; in the third decl. *-im* left *-i*, or oftener *-e*—*rurim*, *ruri* or *rure*, *Karthaginim*, *Karthagini* or *Karthagine*.

ipsius goes with *adventus*.

§ 5. *absentibus*, "to those who had never seen him."

Mario, &c., i.e. B.C. 102.

prætextatus, "though Archias even then wore the dress of a boy."

§ 6. *audiebatur*, "his lectures were attended by."

consuetudine, "familiar friendship."

si qui: cf. inf. § 12, "ceteros pudeat, si qui," &c.: it is a delicate expression, "any who might."

IV. *satis*, "pretty long." *M. Lucullo;* al. *L.*, which would make it the father, who went to Sicily in B.C. 102, and was banished not long after, so that *satis longo intervallo* cannot apply to him. If *L. Lucullo* be read it is probably brother of *M.*, not his father.

æquissimo, "most favourable," i.e. in their relations to Rome; opp. of *iniquissimo.*

impetravit, "obtained." The assistance of Lucullus was expressed by the adoption of the name *A. Licinius.*

civitas, i.e. not now of *Heraclea*, but of *Rome.*

Silvani, &c., B.C. 89, passed by M. Plautius Silvanus and C. Papirius Carbo.

§ 8. *de civitate ac lege*, i.e. Roman citizenship, and the *Lex Plautia Papiria* above.

adest, "is in court," with the action of "appearing to support" Archias. Cf. Pro Mil. c. xiv., *quum mihi adesset.*

auctoritate, &c., "character, conscientiousness, and honour."

hic: Cicero is fond of using this word thus.

Italico bello, also called *Marsico*, B.C. 90—89.—*Omnes*, at the end to give emphasis, "there is none of us who does not know."

§ 9. *At non est professus*, "but, you say, he did not give in his name."

V. *incolumis*, in Cicero very often is *proleptic*, referring to subsequent condemnation.

levitas, opp. of *gravitas.*

diligentia, "was so strictly accurate."

§ 10. *aliis*, i.e. besides Heraclea; cf. § 5.

arte, "accomplishment."

credo, ironical; *scenicis artificibus*, "to people employed on the stage," e.g. "flute-players."

largiri: this is proper in the first clause, "to *lavish* it on obscure people," but is used only by a zeugma in the second, "refused to *concede*."

§ 11. *Census*, "the entry of our name in the censor's books."—*Scilicet*, ironical, like *εἰκότως*: "it is very reasonable; for it is little known," &c.

proximis, i.e. eighty years before, B.C. 70; *superioribus*, B.C. 86; *primis*, B.C. 89.

quæstore, i.e. of Sulla.

quæ, "which you fasten upon and declare that then—;" al. *quem*, which is simpler.

in beneficiis, &c., "his name was sent into the treasury by L. Lucullus among those who were to receive a bounty."

VI. § 12. *convicio*, "wrangling of litigants."

ad communem afferre fructum, "to the public advantage;" *in aspectum, &c.*, i.e. in the way of a *book*, as opposed to practical fruits in active political life.

tempore, "danger;" *commodo*, "interest;" the former probably referring to cases like the present, which were *causæ publicæ*, the latter to *causa privatæ*.

§ 13. *ad ipsam requiem*, "*mere* rest," as opposed to *active* pleasure.

temporum; not *temporis*, which expresses the *sum* of time, but the *different portions of time*.

tempestivis, i.e. beginning early, in order to continuing them long.

alveolo=*tabulæ aleatoriæ*.

quantacumque in me est, "whether it be great or small."

illa quidem certe, "referring to what comes after, viz.

the principles which sustained him in meeting the Catilinarian conspiracy.

§ 14. *pleni*, sc. *præceptorum*, cf. sup., not *exemplorum*, which suits only *vetustas*.

vetustas, here "antiquity."

expressas, "in relief," less properly of a painting than of a statue or a moulding.

VII. § 15. *eruditi*, not adj. but partic., "were they trained by?"

est certum, &c., "I have no doubt what answer I should make."

atque idem ego, "and nevertheless I maintain at the same time."

nescio quid, &c., "that rare and indefinable nobility of soul;" the expression is used when there is no abstract word proper to the thing intended.

§ 16. *hunc*, opp. to *illum*, "the Elder."

profecto, "we may be sure."—*percipiendam*, "towards learning what virtue was."

alunt, in MSS. *agunt*, "stimulate," or (as others take it) "occupy."

§ 17. *Quod si;* the chapter should begin here, as this begins the argument carried on by *quis nostrum.*

Roscii, Q. Roscius Gallus, the great comedian.

ergo ille...nos: this form of putting a conclusion is common with Cicero.

§ 18. *accurate*, "with care and study."

veterum, i.e. of the classic Greek poets.

diligam: this is shewn by *admirer*, and by the sense, to be the pres. subj., not the fut. ind. It is "the deliberative subjunctive;" cf. "eloquar an sileam?" and inf. § 19, "moveamur." This use of the subj. most commonly

occurs in the first pers. pres. subj., but sometimes in the third pers. imperf. subj. Cf. Ecl. iii. 21.

§ 19. *hoc poetæ nomen*, "the poet's name;" properly *poetæ* should be in apposition to *nomen*, but cf. "unum genus est *eorum* qui," &c., Pro Mil. § 3.

Saxa...nos: cf. sup. § 17, "ergo ille...nos" for a similar antithetical sentence. Cf. also inf., "ergo illi alienum...nos."

suum vindicant, "claim him as theirs;" cf. "vindicare in libertatem," &c.

IX. *alienum;* he must have been *a stranger* to all but one.

etiam, "even when he is dead."

olim, "it is long since."

acroama, "reading," or "music," for those who were at table.

§ 21. *Populus Romanus*, this is kept up by *populi Romani, nostra, nostra, nostri*.

regione, "position."

non maxima manu, at Tigranocerta, B.C. 69, Lucullus defeated Tigranes.

urbem Cyzicenorum, relieved in B.C. 73.

depressa classis, this is used for the abstr., "the sinking of;" *nostra* of course is predicative, "as ours." The engagement was in B.C. 73.

§ 22. *hujus* may mean that Cato was present, or, more simply, may contrast the present (Cato Uticensis) with the former, *ille*, (Cato Censorius). Cf. sup. § 16, *note*.

X. *Rudinum*, of Rudiæ in Calabria, an Oscan town. Halm thinks that the antithesis of *Heracleensem* means that Rudiæ was not a *civitas fœderata*.

§ 23. *Nam;* in reply to a supposed objection that while Ennius wrote in Latin Archias wrote in Greek.

exiguis sane, "which are narrow enough."
ampla, "honourable."
de vita, i.e. "who risk their lives."

§ 24. *noster hic Magnus,* opp. to *Magnus ille Alexander;* there is no need to suppose that Pompey was *present.*

fortes, "brave, but still only peasants and soldiers," and so, uneducated.

§ 25. *Itaque,* "if Pompey did this and his soldiers applauded, I suppose Archias could not," &c.—*credo,* as usual, ironical.

quod—tantummodo go together: *alternis, &c.,* "with every other line long," as being an epigram.

§ 26. *pingue,* "heavy;" cf. "pingui Minervâ."

XI. § 28. *quodam,* interposed to soften *amore,* which belongs only by metaphor to "renown," and is properly "passion for a person."

vobiscum, is put here as "Populus Romanus" in § 21, to enlist the vanity of his audience.

§ 29. *regionibus,* "the boundary lines."

XII. § 30. *An statuas...consiliorum;* Cicero's favourite form of antithesis with asyndeton.—*Statuæ,* "complete figures;" *imagines,* likenesses, whether "busts" or "pictures;" *simulacra,* generally "representations of bodily form."

expressam, "of something in relief."

§ 31. *caussa,* probably abl., like *pudore, ejusmodi* being substituted for *eâ.*

divina, cf. § 18.

itaque dicti, cf. Brut. § 57, "eloquentem fuisse et ita esse habitum."

ab eo, i.e. it is said, his own brother Quintus.